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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

EDITED BY

T. H. DODSON, M.A.

*Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh; and Canon of
Lincoln Cathedral*

AND

G. R. BULLOCK-WEBSTER, M.A.

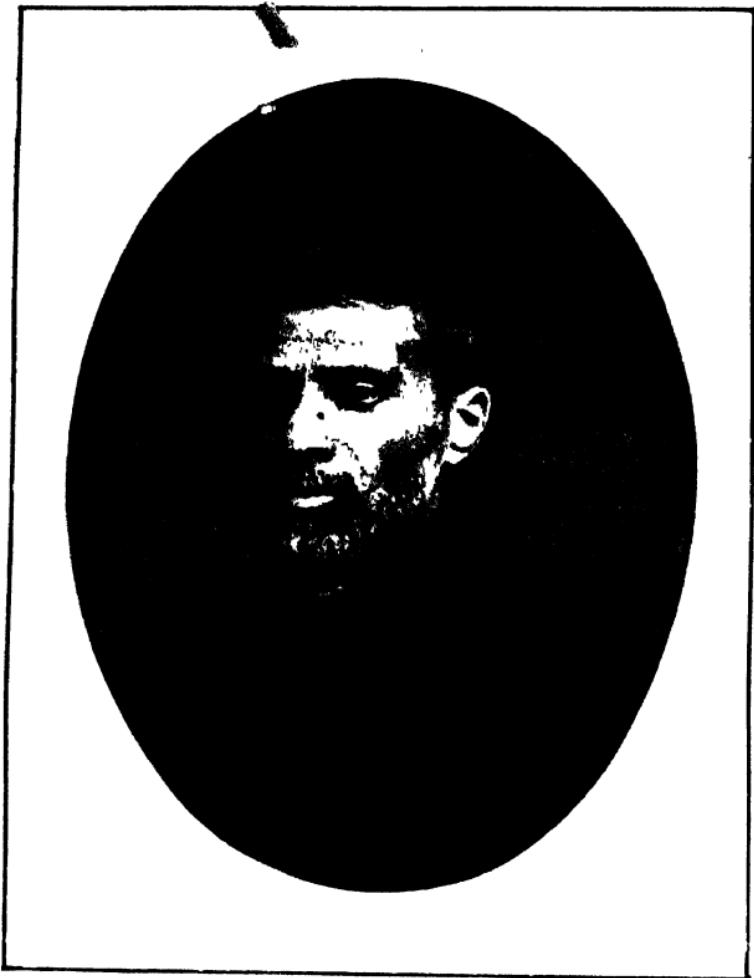
Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral

WITH A GENERAL PREFACE BY
THE BISHOP OF S. ALBANS

Handbooks of English Church Expansion

Edited by T. H. DODSON, M.A., Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh, and Canon of Lincoln Cathedral; and G. R. BULLOCK-WEBSTER, M.A., Hon. Canon of Ely Cathedral.

1. **JAPAN.** By Mrs. EDWARD BICKERSTETH.
2. **WESTERN CANADA.** By the Rev. L. NORMAN TUCKER, M.A., D.C.L.; General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada, and Hon. Canon of Toronto Cathedral.
3. **CHINA.** By the Rev. F. L. NORRIS, M.A., of the Church of England Mission, Peking; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of North China.
4. **AUSTRALIA.** By the Rev. A. E. DAVID, M.A., sometime Archdeacon of Brisbane.
5. **SOUTH AFRICA.** By the Right Rev. Bishop HAMILTON BAYNES, D.D., sometime Bishop of Natal.
6. **NORTH INDIA.** By the Rev. C. F. ANDREWS, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi.



PADRE NEHEMIAH GOREH.

Handbooks of English Church Expansion

North India

BY THE

REV. C. F. ANDREWS, M.A.

Of the Cambridge Brotherhood, Delhi

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

A. R. MOWBRAY & CO. LTD.

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GENERAL PREFACE

IT was said, I believe by the late Bishop Lightfoot, that the study of history was the best cordial for a drooping courage. I can imagine no study more bracing and exhilarating than that of the modern expansion of the Church of England beyond the seas during the past half century, and especially since the institution of the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions. It is only when these matters are studied historically that this expansion comes out in its true proportions, and invites comparison with the progress of the Church in any similar period of the world's history since our LORD'S Ascension into heaven.

But for this purpose there must be the accurate marshalling of facts, the consideration of the special circumstances of each country, race and Mission, the facing of problems, the biographies of great careers, even the bold forecast of conquests yet to come. It is to answer some of these questions, and to enable the general reader to gauge the progress of Church of England Missions, that Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co. have designed a series of handbooks,

of which each volume will be a monograph on the work of the Church in some particular country or region by a competent writer of special local experience and knowledge. The whole series will be edited by two men who have given themselves in England to the work and study of Foreign Missions—Canon Dodson, Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Birsley, and Canon Bullock-Webster, of Ely.

I commend the project with all my heart. The first volume, which I have been able to study in proof, appears to me an excellent introduction to the whole series. It is a welcome feature of missionary work at home that we have now passed into the stage of literature and study, and that the comity of Missions allows us to learn from each other, however widely methods may vary. The series of handbooks appears to me likely to interest a general public which has not been accustomed to read missionary magazines, and I desire to bespeak for it a sympathetic interest, and to predict for it no mean success in forming and quickening the public mind.

EDGAR ALBAN.

HIGHAMS,
WOODFORD GREEN, ESSEX,
November 10, 1907.

EDITORS' PREFACE.

HEW facts in modern history are more arresting or instructive than the rapid extension of the Church's responsibilities and labours in the colonial and missionary fields ; yet, until recently, few facts perhaps have been less familiar to those who have not deliberately given themselves to a study of the subject.

It has therefore been felt that the time has come when a series of monographs, dealing with the expansion of the Church of England beyond the seas, may be of service towards fixing the popular attention upon that great cause, the growing interest in which constitutes so thank-worthy a feature in the Church's outlook to-day.

The range of this series is confined to the work in which the Church of England is engaged. That story is too full to allow of any attempt to include the splendid devotion, and the successful labours, of other Missions of Christendom. But, for a fair understanding either of the Christian advance generally or of the relative position of our own

work, a knowledge of those Missions is essential; and it is in the hope of leading some of its readers to such further comparative study that this series has been taken in hand.

The Editors have tried to keep in view the fact that, while the wonderful achievements here recorded have been accomplished in large part through the agency of our Missionary Societies, yet these Societies are, after all, only the hands and arms of the Holy Church in the execution of her divine mission to the world.

They have directed their work, as Editors, simply to securing general uniformity of plan for the series, and have left each writer a free hand in the selection of material and the expression of opinion.

T. H. D.
G. R. B.-W.

**TO MY FRIEND
SUSIL KUMAR RUDRA**

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

MUCH of what I have written will appear to many as a collection of twice-told tales. My only apology would be: Are they worth telling? do they give a vivid picture? If so, then those who know them will forgive me, and those who do not know them will be glad to read them. I was obliged by the nature of my subject to make selections, and I have followed the principle of taking what appeared to be of living interest, choosing as far as possible the lives of typical men, both Indian and English, in order to tell my story.

The two long concluding chapters call for an explanation. They attempt to state clearly and openly the present problems, and deal with the present situation. The times are critical in India, and only by a frank and open exchange of thought can true lines of action be reached. I have given my opinions, such as they are, without any reservation. If the chapters bring to notice dangers in the North of India which threaten the Church

and set others thinking about them, they will have served their purpose. They will also help, I trust, to make intercession for the Indian Church more definite.

I am under great obligation to Father Longridge, Father Gardner, and the Bishop of Nagpur, the writers of the three most fascinating books on Church Missions in North India. Dr. Eugene Stock's *History of the Church Missionary Society* has been my constant companion in almost every chapter, and my indebtedness to him will be evident. I have also found the *Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.* most useful and accurate. I would specially thank Mr. P. C. Bonerjea for the loan of his unpublished book on Indian Christian worthies, which I trust will one day see the light. It was a great pleasure to me to read afresh and quote from Mr. Birks' *Life and Letters of Bishop French*: it would be a boon to the Church if it could be brought out in a "People's Edition." Mr. George Smith, the veteran among Indian mission writers, will see that I have used his parting gift to me when I was setting out for India—his *Life of Bishop Heber*.

Last, but not least, I would express my gratitude to many Indian Christian friends, who have

guided me in my choice of subjects, and criticized what I have written with kindly frankness. If I have gained at all the Indian point of view it has been through their sympathy. I cannot help but wish that it had been possible to go beyond the limits of the Anglican Missions and speak of the noble work of the Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and other bodies, and tell the life-story of Lal Behari De, Kali Charan Banerji, and many other Indian heroes of the Faith; but the form of the present series forbids such an extension of the subject.

C. F. ANDREWS.

DELHI,

Festival of the Transfiguration, 1908.

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Handbooks of English Church Expansion

NORTH INDIA



CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS IN BENGAL

THE history of Anglican Church Missions in North India begins with the efforts made by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first field of missionary endeavour is interesting and typical of the age. The Portuguese had for many years carried on a slave trade along the coast of India. Those who were kidnapped were frequently baptized and called by Portuguese names. Their descendants gained their freedom, but remained utterly ignorant of Christianity, living the most degraded lives. At one time the evil of this practice of baptizing those who had been kidnapped, grew so great that the Madras Government was obliged to pass a law upon the

subject preventing the baptism of slaves. A considerable number of Indians of this type, who went by the name of "Portuguese," were settled among the tiny body of English settlers on the banks of the Hugli, in Bengal. The chaplain asked for help from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in 1731 a charity school was opened for them, and we read that "the pupils were clothed in the same manner as the boys of the Blue Coat School in London." They were taught by Padre Aguiere, formerly a Franciscan Friar at Goa. The chaplain took a great interest in the movement, but in the troublous days that followed he lost his life as one of the victims of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the work came to an end.

The Rev. J. Kiernander was the first missionary of the English Church in Calcutta. He was a Swede by nationality, of high rank and family. His two uncles had been colonels in the army of the great Charles XII of Sweden, and had both died fighting bravely at the battle of Pultowa. Mr. Kiernander inherited their chivalrous qualities. Before coming to Calcutta he worked for many years at Cuddalore, near Madras, where his life was constantly in jeopardy while the French and

English strove for the mastery. The French, on the whole, treated him well, and Count Lally saved his life when Cuddalore was sacked in 1758. After this he was transferred to Calcutta. It is somewhat startling to read that, although working in Calcutta for over forty years, he never acquired a knowledge of the Bengali language. His work was carried on in a corrupt form of Portuguese, which was the *lingua franca* all along the coast. Calcutta, as a growing port, was even at this early date a meeting-place of many races. In Kiernander's congregation were Jews, Chinese, Armenians, Portuguese, and Dutch, as well as a small group of Hindu converts, one of whom was a Brahman. Kiernander's name is still remembered in Calcutta as the founder and builder of the "Old Church," which remains to this day in charge of a missionary priest. He devoted his own private fortune to the work. In 1775 Ganesh Das, who had come down from Delhi as Persian translator and had visited England, was baptized by Kiernander. Sir Robert Chambers stood sponsor at his baptism—a fact worth noticing at that period of antagonism to missions.

During the closing decades of the eighteenth century the rule of the East India Company

reached its lowest ebb. Moral interests and the welfare of the people were sacrificed to trade profits. Bengal was almost left to itself so far as the Church was concerned. Scarcely a clergyman could be found to go out, and the missionary work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge failed for lack of support. Church life can hardly be said to have existed. We read constantly of Hindu idolatry being openly countenanced and even practised by officials, who married Hindu wives and lived as petty rajahs. Large fortunes were acquired by encouraging the gross superstitions of the masses. Every effort was made to conciliate the Brahmans and to avoid disturbing their ascendancy over the common people. Professor Seeley has named this time the "brahmanizing" period of English rule. Divorced from Christian influence, and sharing in the evils of the idolatry around, English life became unspeakably corrupt. At one time the Directors of the Company, who had every reason for concealing the facts, were obliged to confess in their report: "The vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by scenes of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct ever known in any age or country." Vansittart tells

us how the Company's servants used to flog and imprison Hindus who would not buy or sell at whatever rate was pleasing to their oppressors.

It is, indeed, unpleasing and in a measure revolting to English readers, to bring from oblivion this dark chapter of the past, but it is necessary to do so if we are to understand the early struggles of the Church and the violent opposition to religion as a missionary force.

Kiernander died just as the eighteenth century closed. For the last twenty years of his life he was blind and almost past work, and his life was embittered by lawsuits and pecuniary troubles. In January, 1800, the first month of the new century, Carey and Marshman began their missionary career at Serampur. The Company's officials had done their best to seize them on landing and deport them. For a time they were indentured by a sympathetic Englishman as indigo planters. But the order went out for their arrest, and they were smuggled away from Calcutta by night in a boat and escaped to Danish territory. The Danish Governor, though threatened, refused to give them up. During the next twelve years, various attempts were made by other missionaries to enter the country, but in every case they were

expelled. One Governor-General wrote with regard to missionary work: "A man might fire a pistol into a magazine and it might not explode, but no wise man would hazard the experiment." While England was awakening to a new earnestness and evangelical fervour at home, the Anglo-Indian community in Bengal remained cold and resentful of any evangelizing effort.

The change of tone which came about in Bengal by slow degrees was due in the first instance to Charles Simeon. He had the wisdom and forethought to seize the one avenue still open for influence, and when home clergy were unwilling to undertake the work of Indian chaplaincies he sent out in quick succession the best and noblest men he had. The need of good men may be judged from the official report of the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, in 1795, in which he stated that "the chaplains, with some exceptions, are not respectable characters: a black coat is no security from the general relaxation of morals." The first of Simeon's friends to set sail was David Brown, whose devoted ministry was for some years the one shining light in Calcutta. He found in Charles Grant, who was Senior Merchant of the Company, a warm supporter and friend. Through

his influence Simeon was able to send later Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason, thus making up, along with David Brown, the famous "Five Chaplains." In this way a new religious atmosphere slowly formed in Calcutta itself, and a silent revolution in morals and religion began.

Meanwhile in England the conscience of the nation was awakening. The day was past when a learned Bishop could state, with general approval, in the House of Lords that "the obligation to promote the Christian Faith throughout the world ceased with the supernatural gifts of the Apostles." Wilberforce, fresh from the struggle which had ended in the abolition of the slave trade, took up the cause of Indian Missions. In the House of Commons, and by pamphlets and speeches, he urged the repeal of the stringent regulations of the Company, and claimed freedom for the entrance of the Gospel. The conflict was carried on with bitterness by his opponents. Sidney Smith attacked Carey and Marshman, as "consecrated cobblers," in the *Edinburgh Review*; and every effort was made to pour ridicule and contempt on the new spirit of missionary zeal.

A hush came over the controversy when the

news arrived of the death of Henry Martyn at Tokat in Armenia in 1812. The purity and sacrifice of his life, and the pathos of his death, moved the hearts of the English people, in a way they had never been moved before, towards missionary work. The words, "Let me burn out for CHRIST," could not be forgotten. Such a life was an unanswerable witness, and sneers at missionaries became no longer popular and plausible.

When the East India Company's charter came up for renewal, public opinion was on the side of Wilberforce. The clause providing a Church Establishment in India, with a Bishop and three archdeacons, went through the House of Commons almost unopposed. But the clause giving facilities by law to persons engaged in missionary work to enter and remain in India, was fought over to the bitter end. At 3 a.m., after a whole night sitting, the clause was passed, and Wilberforce could write, "I am persuaded that we have raised the foundation-stone of the grandest edifice that was ever raised in Asia."

Henry Martyn's death, more than any other single cause, had won the victory. The dull, respectable, comfortable Christianity of the age could never have been stirred to that self-sacrifice

and enthusiasm and burning charity which alone could fulfil the Master's great command, had there not been given, at the threshold of the new movement, the example of a life-long martyrdom and an heroic death. The closing words of Henry Martyn's journal link his spirit with that of S. Bernard or S. Francis, as a true pilgrim of eternity and lover of the Crucified : "They brought me at last to a stable-room"—these are among the last sentences he wrote—"my fever increased ; the heat in my eyes and forehead was so great that the fire almost made me frantic. I entreated to be carried out of doors, but was not attended to. At last I lodged my head on the damp ground and slept. Preserving Mercy made me see the light of another morning. I thought with sweet comfort and peace of my GOD—in solitude my Company, my Friend, and Comforter. Ah ! when shall time give place to eternity ? When shall appear the new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness ? There, there, shall enter in nought that defileth."

Words such as these stirred the chivalry and romance of those awakening days. Poetry had broken the bonds of eighteenth-century dullness, and now Christianity was shown to have a

romance and chivalry of its own. No selfish interests of a trading company could withstand such a feeling in the nation, when it had once been aroused; and the young missionary's lonely death was the means of arousing it.

Henry Martyn's life-work was chiefly that of translation, but more than one remarkable Indian opponent of Christianity was brought to the Faith by his saintly example and teaching. Of these Sheikh Salih needs special mention. He was born in Delhi, in 1765, of good Mussulman parentage. His family was one of those, not uncommon among the Mohammedans of North India, which combined martial spirit and literary tastes. We find the Sheikh at one time teaching Persian and Arabic, at another acting as Keeper of the Jewels to the King of Oude, at another serving in the Mahratta Bodyguard of the Rajah of Jodhpur. In every place he was an ardent proselytizer for the faith of Islam. At Cawnpore he went, as he tells us, to see the show of a Christian padre being baited in controversy by Mohammedan divines. But the padre was Henry Martyn, and his spiritual earnestness left an impression on the Sheikh's mind which could not be effaced. He was baptized by David Brown

in the Old Church, Calcutta, just after Henry Martyn had started on his last fatal journey. He took the name of Abdul Masih, "Servant of CHRIST."

A beautiful story is told by Corrie concerning the meekness of this fiery Mohammedan soldier of former days. They were going up the Ganges in two boats to Dinapur, when Abdul's boatmen mutinied. He turned to the other Christians on board and said, "Come, let us teach them a Christian lesson." He then got out and began to tow the boat himself. When the boat had gone some distance a Mohammedan merchant appeared on the bank, who was amazed to see a gentleman dragging along his own boat. The merchant asked : "Sir, is it not degrading for a gentleman of your standing to do such menial work ?" Abdul replied, "When I was a Mussulman I should indeed have felt shame, but I have embraced a religion whose Author was meek and lowly of heart, and I am trying to win the boatmen to a sense of shame by acting thus." Then he read to him the conclusion of the fifth chapter of S. Matthew, and the merchant went on his way wondering at such new teaching.

As Corrie's companion and helper the Sheikh

worked with the utmost courage and meekness in Agra. Later on in life he was ordained by Bishop Heber in Calcutta. He died as the sun was setting on March 4, 1827. While he lay in great pain he asked for the story of JESUS at the well of Samaria to be read to him, and said repeatedly, "Thanks be to GOD." One who was by his side sang to him a hymn which the dying man had himself composed :

" Beloved Saviour, let not me
In Thy dear heart forgotten be !
Of all that decks earth's fairest bower
Thou art the fairest, sweetest flower.
Beloved Saviour, let not me
In Thy dear heart forgotten be !

Old age has come, youth's morn has fled,
Life's dawning hopes are cold and dead,
The night draws near, the shadows fall ;
Out of the deep to Thee I call.
Beloved Saviour, let not me
In Thy dear heart forgotten be !"

With these words sounding in his ears the first Mussulman in India ordained to the Christian priesthood, fell asleep in JESUS.

CHAPTER II

CALCUTTA AND ITS BISHOPS

IN the early part of the nineteenth century Calcutta continued for a long time to be the centre of Church development and missionary enterprise. Its great Bishops are prominent figures in the land, second only to Governor-Generals in rank and station, engaged in stately tours of visitation, laying down schemes for the future on a magnificent scale. A brief account of them will connect together a series of important events.

The first Bishop chosen by the Home Government was Dr. Middleton, the author of a classical work on "The Greek Article." He reminds us in many ways of the eighteenth-century Bishops, learned to the point of pedantry, singularly unfitted to be the pioneer Apostle of a Missionary Church. He was appointed by Letters Patent "Bishop of India, Ceylon and Australia," a somewhat unmanageable diocese in those days of leisurely

travelling. So timid was the East India Company of taking such an unprecedented step as receiving a Bishop into its administration, that the first Bishop of Calcutta was consecrated privately in Lambeth Palace (May 8, 1814), and no sermon was allowed to be published. Secrecy was kept with regard to his voyage and landing; but, to the evident surprise of the Company's officials, the Hindus seemed rather pleased than otherwise, and in no way resented Christians practising their own religion.

Middleton had the faults of a scholastic career: his tastes were academic and unpractical, and confined to a narrow circle of interests. When the Church in Calcutta needed a spiritual revival, and the Church in the South was developing caste congregations, he was spending months of valuable time in wranglings as to privileges and official status. He regarded himself first and foremost as a Government servant; and as he had received no instructions as to his relations with missionaries, he looked upon them almost as interlopers and refused either to license them or allow them to preach to English congregations. This position became intolerable even to himself in late years, and he abandoned it; but

he remained obdurate to the last in his refusal to ordain any Indian Christian to the sacred ministry. Abdul Masih, who had waited years for the Bishop's coming in order to receive the gift of Holy Orders, was firmly and finally refused, and nothing could shake the Bishop's determination. Dr. Middleton was the only Anglican Bishop at that time east of Suez, and a High Churchman to boot, yet his views as to his relations with the Government were such that he would on no account ordain an Indian, who was fully prepared, to the priesthood. In this refusal is seen one of the first of those hindrances to indigenous Church life and development, which form so painful a chapter in Indian Church history. The State connection was purchased from the first at the cost of spiritual freedom, and we are suffering still to-day in consequence.

In Bishop Middleton's Biography the following passage occurs, which is strange reading to modern ears: "There is one erroneous view," the writer says, "of the episcopal office in India, which needs correction, and the prevalence of which in the East was a source of constant embarrassment to Bishop Middleton. It is not unusual to imagine that the President of our

Asiatic Church is chiefly to be regarded as a sort of 'head missionary,' and that his principal duty is to encourage and keep alive the work of conversion among the natives. To this view of his office Bishop Middleton most firmly and justly opposed himself in the very outset of his administration. The primary object for which he came out was to govern an Established Christian Church, and he conceived that his situation and authority would have undergone no essential change, even if the design of spreading the Gospel among the Hindoos had been abandoned without exception. . . . He was uniformly anxious to keep the duties of the clergy and those of the missionaries separate from each other." We can scarcely imagine the Apostle Paul taking such a view of his apostolic office, yet the Bishop would have maintained most vehemently his own apostolic succession.

On one side however—the academic side—the Bishop's mind was open and liberal. With the grand ideas of an ecclesiastic of the old school, he launched out into a scheme for what he fondly called a "University of the East." Bishop's College, named after its founder, was to rise on the banks of the Hugli, and become a centre of light

and learning for the whole of India. The idea was great, even though the design was wrongly executed. Instead of starting from humble beginnings, and adapting Eastern modes of instruction to the new institution, he built on a European scale large lecture halls and quarters, and made classics and theology the chief subjects of study. Great enthusiasm over the Bishop's proposal prevailed in England. The Church Missionary Society voted one-sixth of its yearly income, and other Societies did the same. Dr. Mill, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, came out to preside in February, 1821. But the whole scheme was premature. An immense amount of money was spent year by year. Noble missionary teachers came out from England. But the perverse foreign methods continued, and the College was never the success that was expected. In later years a new effort was made inside the city to carry on the pious founder's purpose. For a time, under the superintendence of the Oxford Mission, the college flourished; but its progress has been a continual source of anxiety,

In Bishop Middleton's later years his attitude towards missionaries became much more friendly; he kept, however, to the end his determination

never under any circumstances to ordain an Indian Christian.

The story of Bishop Heber forms one of the most pathetic pages in Indian Church history. He came out to succeed Dr. Middleton, in the fullness of all his brilliant powers, with a winning personality which kindled enthusiasm in all with whom he came in contact. He was a poet of no mean order. How his famous hymn, "From Greenland's icy mountains," came to be written, is well known. What is not so well known is that Tennyson, whose taste in such matters was severely critical, used often to quote Heber's lines, "Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD Almighty," as the grandest hymn in the English language, and wish that he himself had the power to compose such a poem.

Heber reached India in October, 1823, and set to work with an amazing energy, travelling over his vast diocese, confirming the Churches, healing disorders, establishing new mission-stations, doing the work of an evangelist. In April, 1826, he arrived at Trichinopoly in the South, and in the Fort Church "spoke with great affection upon the glorious Dispensation of GOD in CHRIST JESUS, and the necessity which rested upon us

to propagate the Faith throughout the vast country of India." Shortly after he went to bathe. A sudden chill seized him while he was in the water, and death ensued. The whole of India and Great Britain mourned his loss, and awoke to the sense of his greatness.

The two and a half years of Heber's episcopate left a mark upon Indian Missions, and upon the English Church, second only to that of Henry Martyn himself. The Christian enthusiasm of Missions was realized afresh in his ardent labours, his poems, his letters, his speeches, and in his sad fate. The English people, in those dull days of Church life before the Oxford Movement, were stirred to a higher ideal of the sacred office of a Bishop and the sacred functions of a Church. They realized that such a life was far more in accordance with the Acts of the Apostles than the old eighteenth century traditions.

During Heber's short episcopate many new ventures in the Indian mission-field itself were undertaken. Corrie was pressing forward in the North, and founding new centres at Agra and Meerut. Burdwan was becoming a strong outpost in Bengal. Benares was occupied and reinforced. Miss Cooke was beginning her educational work in

Calcutta. Abdul Masih was at last ordained on S. Andrew's Day, 1825—the first Indian Christian to receive ordination at the hands of an Anglican Bishop.

More than eighty years have passed since then, and yet the higher office of the Indian episcopate has not been filled by an Indian. How little could Heber have imagined, when he laid hands on Abdul Masih, that so long an interval would elapse! Are we even to-day within sight of the end?

Two deaths followed rapidly in the ill-fated See of Calcutta, due in a great measure to the culpable delay in subdividing the enormous area of the diocese. Dr. James died after eight months' residence (1827), and Dr. Turner after a year and a half (1829).

In 1832 Daniel Wilson was appointed Bishop, on the recommendation of Charles Grant the younger. In the six years that had elapsed since Heber's death the caste difficulties in the South had become acute. There had been no episcopal supervision, and matters had been allowed to drift. Bishop Wilson, on his arrival, took up the question at once, and fixed the Church usage in the famous sentence, "Caste must be abandoned within the Church—decidedly,

immediately, finally." With the revolt which followed and the secessions which took place this history does not deal. Whatever may have been the losses at the outset in the South, there can be little question that the Indian Christian Church as a whole gained in purity and spirituality by the Bishop's action, and the Northern Missions were saved from the very first from a false position. The future danger in the North, where far the larger number of English are resident, was from another kind of caste distinction—the cleavage between English and Indian congregations, and the refusal to recognize equality of race within the Christian fold. Though Bishops and clergy in this matter have protested, and noble Christian laymen have joined in fullest fellowship with their Indian brethren, yet among the bulk of the English laity the state of affairs, owing to the prevailing Anglo-Indian spirit of domination, has been lamentable, and a continual cause of stumbling to Indian inquirers.

The year 1833 came, in which the Company's charter was to be renewed. Charles Grant the younger threw all his great influence into a programme of reform. He assisted in framing the famous charter (which was afterwards the basis

of the Queen's Proclamation) promising impartiality between the English and Indian. He also obtained sanction for the two new Bishoprics of Madras and Bombay. Corrie was appointed to Madras in 1836. For thirty years he had laboured in North India, opening up, where opportunity was granted, new mission-stations. He had been passed over time after time when the Calcutta Bishopric had been vacant, but he had worked steadily on, mapping out the advance posts of the Church. His name ranks almost equal with Henry Martyn's, as greatest among the "Five" who wrought such wonders in the Church life of Bengal.

At this period the career of Alexander Duff, the Presbyterian missionary, began in Calcutta. The time was ripe for a great change, and the man was ready also. Rarely have the man and the occasion fitted more closely. The issue at stake was whether English should form the main subject of University education, or whether Sanskrit and Arabic should still hold their pre-eminence; whether Western science should be taught, or the ancient sciences of the East. "Never on this earth," writes Seeley, "was a more momentous question discussed. . . . It was

Macaulay's minute that decided the question in favour of English. . . . The decision remains the greatest landmark in the history of our Empire, considered as an institute of civilization."

Much that has happened since then has led us to modify considerably the enthusiasm over Macaulay's triumph, and in the national movement which is going on to-day the defects of Macaulay's policy are being understood—his lack of appreciation for the greatness of India's past, and his blindness as to the claims of the vernaculars. But when all this is recognized, there can be no question that the compensating advantages of the study of English have been enormous. It has given to educated India a common language, and made the unification of India and the growth of national sentiment possible. At the time, however, young educated Bengal was wholly with Macaulay.

The struggle between the old school and the new was at its height when Duff landed in Calcutta. He was only twenty-four years old, but his career had been already brilliant. He realized with the eye of a born leader the missionary possibilities of the new situation, and the opportunities it offered for presenting the claims of

CHRIST as the great Emancipator of mankind. He scarcely hesitated for a moment. Picking up a smattering of Bengali sufficient to carry on an organization by himself, he "launched out into the deep, and let down his nets for a draught." He established in 1830 an English college for Indian students, in which the highest culture and science of the West should be taught in a Christian setting. All the older missionaries were against the young innovator, and condemned his methods and haste. While, however, the English missionaries were opposed to him, the leading Indians were on his side. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, perhaps the greatest Indian reformer of last century, warmly championed Duff in his venture of faith, and found him high-caste pupils of the best type. After a year's patient, quiet work in college, Duff sprang into fame by a course of lectures on "National and Revealed Religion." Educated Calcutta was in a ferment. The English were alarmed, and some clamoured for Duff's deportation. But the younger Indian thinkers were almost wholly with him. They were tired of the formal round of Hindu ceremonial and the fetters of superstition, which showed no signs of relaxation.

Duff saw what young India was needing, and grasped the Indian point of view in the change of thought that was taking place. While others were doubting and hesitating he pressed forward, throwing the whole force of his sympathy and earnestness into the new movement. The intense spiritual faith of the young prophet of the new era held fast those who came under his influence. He was of their own age, and could lead them onward into freedom. One by one they came out and were baptized—men of high social rank, spiritual culture, and intellectual vigour.

Never before or after has there been in India such a distinguished band of converts. Duff set them immediately to work in different spheres, and built up the Christian educational movement by their means. With high generosity he gave his own disciples to other Missions, wherever leaders were needed, and the English Church owes to him in consequence a deep debt of gratitude. Dr. K. M. Banerji, the ablest of all his converts, became a Professor in Bishop's College; and Mr. P. M. Rudra, who came from one of the old aristocratic families, was ordained to the priesthood, and for many years was placed in

charge of the Nadiya Mission district of Bengal, with many congregations under his care. Babus I. C. Singha and Bhola Nath Ghose were sent to help in the Panjab. Even to-day, after more than half a century has elapsed, the Indian Christian families descended from Dr. Duff's converts are remarkable in Bengal and in the North. I have again and again been a welcome guest in some Indian Christian family, where culture and refinement ruled, and have been told how this or that member in earlier days was a disciple of Dr. Duff in Calcutta.

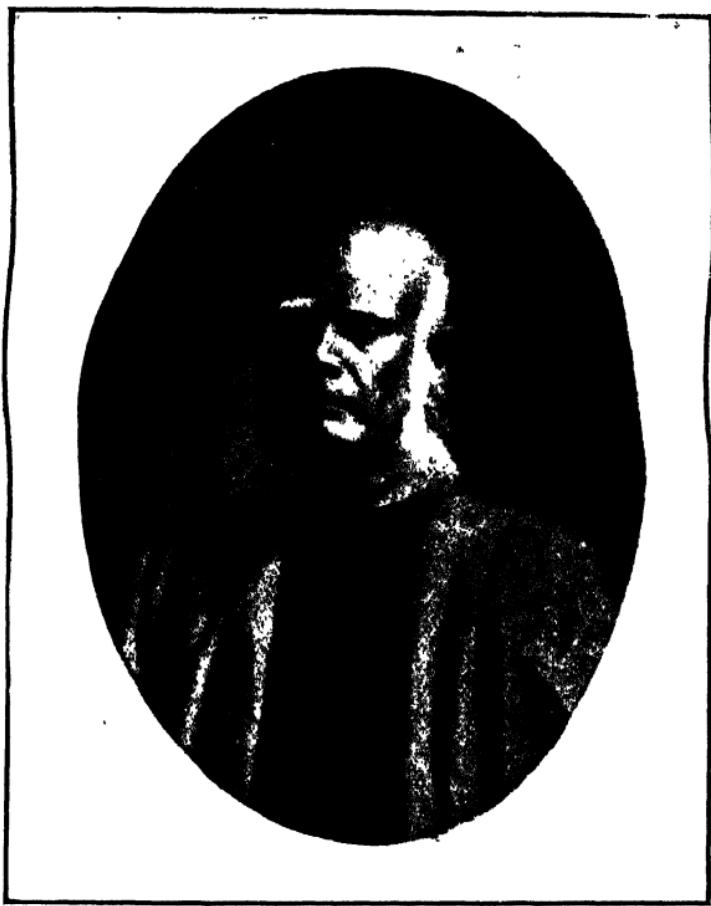
The life of Dr. Krishna Mohan Banerji gives a singularly vivid picture of the spiritual unrest of the times. He was a Kulin Brahman, belonging to one of the high families in Calcutta, and received his education at the Hindu College. While at college he came under the influence of a very gifted young Eurasian professor named Derozio, who exercised an extraordinary fascination over his pupils, inspiring them with high moral courage and a passionate love of liberty. Krishna Mohan Banerji carried his teacher's ideas to extreme lengths, and formed a sect called "The Reformers," whose object was to destroy the old belief in Hinduism and build up society

on a modern basis. The student leaders broke entirely with Hindu custom and usage, and were all of them outcasted by their families. The excitement produced in Calcutta was intense, and their conduct was both admired and hated. But the excesses of the young enthusiasts, and their wild and reckless conduct, prevented any great moral effect issuing from the revolt: they remained isolated and unsupported by any large following.

It was at this critical moment that Duff appeared in Calcutta. Krishna Mohan Banerji, the leader and the most earnest of the new sect, came under his influence, and a change began to appear in *The Enquirer*, of which he was editor-in-chief. At last the news appeared in its columns that he had become a Christian and had been baptized by Duff himself, along with some of his companions. He was ordained by Bishop Wilson later (1839), and was placed in charge of Christ Church, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, where his sermons and lectures, delivered in Bengali, attracted great attention for a time. For some years (1851-1866) he was Professor at Bishop's College, and left his mark upon the development of Calcutta University. He received his Doctor's degree in

recognition of his great services and scholarly attainments. The Asiatic Society elected him a member of their body, and he also took an active part in the Calcutta Municipality. There was scarcely any society of eminence in the city of his birth with which he was not associated, and his name was as great in non-Christian circles as in his own Christian community. His life and all his talents were first and foremost, from the day of his baptism onwards, laid at the feet of his Redeemer, and he was instrumental in winning many of the most influential among the educated classes in Calcutta to embrace Christianity.

If there had not been the fatal barriers of English prejudice and State connection, there can be little doubt that Dr. Banerji would have been raised to the episcopate, and have thus become a greater power even than he was in moulding and fashioning the Church life of Bengal. But principles of indigenous development and self-government had not then advanced so far as to make such a step possible, and the opportunity was lost. The failure to recognize his great gifts and those of others of his time has had a markedly deterrent effect on the advance of the Church in Bengal in indigenous



DR. KRISHNA MOHAN BANERJI.

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life. When it is said to-day that there are no Indian Christians of sufficiently high calibre to be made Bishops, it must be remembered what the treatment of the noblest and highest Indian Christians has been in the past. Continual subordination is not a good soil for the growth of originating and governing powers.

Soon after the arrival of Bishop Wilson in Calcutta in 1833, the Nadiya and Krishnagar district in Lower Bengal was the scene of a remarkable religious movement, which for a time seemed destined to spread far and wide, and attracted great attention. A reaction against the tyranny of the Brahmins had already begun in the country before the Christian missionaries arrived. A strange new sect appeared, half-Moslem, half-Hindu, called the *Karta Bhoja* ("Creator Worshippers"), following the same lines as many of the Hindu reforming movements. The district was already famous as the first centre of Chaitanya's preaching in the sixteenth century. In 1833 a number of the new sect were baptized and began to preach Christianity as the one true religion. In 1838 a mass movement took place, in great measure due to social unrest and revolt from Brahman dominance, and Bishop Wilson was

called in to help, as fifty-five villages were ready to embrace the faith. Mr. Krishna Mohan Banerji was sent with Archdeacon Dealtry, and both were deeply impressed with the possibilities before the Church. The *gurus*, or religious teachers of the new sect, were themselves seeking for baptism. In less than two years, three thousand were added to the Church.

The movement for a while flourished, but afterwards the early indigenous and self-propagating spirit signally failed. The German missionaries who were in charge did not realize the vital value of independence and self-support, and conducted the Mission on the old paternal system, which destroyed initiative. The caste difficulty also sprang up among the half-instructed converts, and was tolerated by the missionaries for a time. The Church members of higher origin called themselves "Hindu Christians," "Mussulman Christians," and these two sections looked down upon the shoemakers and refused to eat with them, calling them "Mochi Christians." Padre P. M. Rudra was sent down to them from Calcutta with two other leading Indian Christians, and by their efforts a reconciliation was effected within the Church; but the Mission has never recovered from its lack



PADRE PIARI MOHAN RUDRA.

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of wise guidance and discipline at the first, and its early promise has never been fulfilled. It should be added that there has been slow but steady progress in recent years.

It was in the later years of Bishop Wilson's long ministry that the development of Zenana mission-work began. He himself had strongly objected to unmarried lady missionaries. "I imagine," he wrote, "that the beloved Persis and Tryphena and Tryphosa remained in their own neighbourhoods and families." But, fortunately for India, the Bishop's illustration from Scripture was not regarded as final, and Miss Cooke's great work, begun in 1822, was carried on by a noble succession of workers. In the 'fifties Duff threw all his own enthusiasm and experience into the work of women's education, just as, twenty years before, he had struggled for his English-teaching college. The highest families in Calcutta opened their houses one by one, and the Zenana missionary movement, which has done so much to transform India, began its course.

Bishop Wilson's great longing, which he was never able to see accomplished, was for the foundation of a Bishopric of Agra, with a Missionary Bishop who might superintend the rising vigorous

Missions in the North. French had begun in that city, in 1851, his great educational work, and along with Pfander had met the Mussulmans in a controversy which became famous all over the North of India. Delhi, in 1854, was made a centre of S.P.G. work under Mr. Jennings, and two remarkable converts, Professor Ramchandra and Dr. Chimman Lal, had been won to the Faith. Meerut was rapidly developing into an important mission-station. The work on every side was being pushed forward, and the Metropolitan's visits were few and far between. But more than twenty years had to elapse before a new bishopric was founded in the North-West. The centre had then changed from Agra to Lahore.

Daniel Wilson's episcopate closed as the last echoes of the terrible Mutiny were dying away. He was in his eightieth year, and had been for some time utterly unable to cope with the vast work of Metropolitan and Bishop. Bishop Cotton (1858-67), who succeeded him, was formerly one of Arnold's younger masters, whose character is sketched in the famous *Tom Brown's School Days*. He was also at one time Head Master of Marlborough College—a Broad Churchman of the schoolmaster type. During his short episcopate

he developed his sympathy with Missions, and became a wise and trusted adviser and helper of each new missionary on his way up to the front in the North. He is known in India to-day by name, first, on account of the Bishop Cotton Schools for English children, whose religious training is of such vital importance in a non-Christian country; and, secondly, on account of the famous Collect for Missions, which is recited daily in India as a part of the Eucharist, Mattins and Evensong, and runs as follows:—

“O GOD, Who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and didst send Thy Blessed SON JESUS CHRIST to preach peace to them that are afar off and to them that are nigh, grant that all the peoples of this land may feel after Thee and find Thee; and hasten, O heavenly FATHER, the fulfilment of Thy promise to pour out Thy Spirit upon all flesh; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. *Amen.*”

This is the only material addition or alteration allowed in the Book of Common Prayer which has been imposed upon the Indian Church, and a debt of gratitude is owed to Bishop Cotton for this precedent. After an all too brief tenure of office he, like Bishop Heber before him, met his

death by drowning while on a Visitation tour in East Bengal.

Robert Milman (1867-76), the nephew of Dean Milman, who succeeded Bishop Cotton, was an earnest High Churchman of a very different school from Dr. Middleton. Between the two periods the Oxford Movement had taken place with all its wonderful spiritual results, and the new High Church Metropolitan was heart and soul with the missionaries and the missionary cause, realizing to the full his own apostolic office. His episcopate brings us to a new scene and a remarkable movement, the story of which will be told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

CHHOTA NAGPUR, AND MASS
MOVEMENTS

IN the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when England had scarcely awokened to the missionary call, different centres on the Continent of Europe were filled with evangelical zeal. The most famous centre was that of the Moravians at Herrnhut, where the whole community was fired with one missionary spirit, and every family had its representatives in distant lands. Halle, Basle, and Copenhagen were other centres. It is noticeable that the English Missionary Societies in early days received their first workers from the Continent, so great was the dearth of men at home.

Few influences have left so great a mark on the mission-field as that of Johannes Gossner, whose ministry, beginning in the Roman priesthood in the beautiful Tyrol, was continued, after

his excommunication by Rome for "liberalism," in the Evangelical Church at Berlin. He lived a celibate life of the utmost frugality and self-denial, and his heart was filled with a burning enthusiasm for the conversion of the non-Christian world. His whole congregation became inspired by a like passion, and from one single church there were started Missions on the Gold Coast, in Java, in New Guinea, Macassar, and India. Gossner was a mystic, living a life of prayer and faith, absorbed with an overmastering thought, "The world for CHRIST." In 1844 his longings turned towards India, and he sent out a band of four young Lutherans to Calcutta to found an Indian Mission. They looked to Thibet as a mission-field, in the first instance, but as they could come to no clear decision, they waited continually upon GOD in prayer for guidance. While walking one day down the narrow lanes of the great city, they noted a strange type of face among the passers-by, differing markedly from the Bengalis round. They asked who these people were, and were told that they were Kols, who came from a country of hill and jungle, called Chhota Nagpur. They asked next from the missionaries in Calcutta if any evangelization had yet

been carried on in that district. On finding that they were an aboriginal people, entirely untouched by the Gospel message, they thanked GOD and took courage, and went forward, knowing that their prayer had been answered and their work appointed.

The four went out in faith, and settled down at Ranchi (1845), now the cathedral city of the Chhota Nagpur diocese. They had no fixed support or income, and lived in the utmost poverty in a small bungalow together, spending just what their saintly pastor and his congregation could afford to send them. They built with their own hands their Mission school and church, helped by some famine orphans whom they fathered and educated. One of the four brethren died in the first year of their work, but another came out to join them. For five years there was not a single convert, and they gave themselves more and more to prayer.

Then a strange incident occurred which was the beginning of the great development that followed in future years. Four of the Kols came to the Lutheran brethren, saying that they had heard of a great Teacher, and desired to see JESUS. They were invited to stay to the daily service,

and were deeply impressed but still unsatisfied. They wished, they said, to see JESUS Himself, repeating constantly that they could not rest until they had seen Him with their own eyes. One of the Lutheran brothers went with them into an inner room and shut the door, and prayed fervently that they might be guided to the Light. They went away quietly, and no more was heard of them. Some time afterwards the same men reappeared, and asked again to be allowed to be present at Divine Service. At its close they came forward with great joy in their faces, saying, "Now we have found JESUS; now we are satisfied; now we desire to become Christians." They remained faithful to these first instincts, and were well instructed during their catechumenate, and then baptized.

The forward movement had begun. Year by year the numbers who came in to be taught grew greater, and a harvest seemed almost immediately prepared for the reaping. There were other beside purely spiritual causes at work, and a desire to better their degraded position entered in very largely as a motive force among the Kols who flocked to the German missionaries. Yet this desire itself had a good and noble side, and was

not without spiritual value. It marked a distinct rise above the level of their former life.

But suffering was to come first. The year of the Mutiny arrived, and the Sepoy regiment stationed close to Ranchi joined the mutineers. The European officers and civilians made good their escape, and then looting went on far and wide. The Lutheran brothers had determined to stay quietly at their posts protecting and guarding their converts. But to do this was to bring into terrible danger the Indian Christians themselves. The only escape for them all lay in scattering themselves and becoming lost among the aboriginal population. The order was given; the pastors and their flock alike scattered, and thus preserved their lives. During the long months that followed many of the new converts died of starvation, and nearly all lost their property, such as it was. One Indian Christian leader maintained in the jungle, for many weeks, one hundred Christian children during the rainy season of the year. Every convert had to undergo terrible hardships, but none denied CHRIST.

After a period of the greatest anxiety, Ranchi was recaptured from the mutineers; but the whole mission was wrecked. The Christians came

straggling in out of their hiding-places, miserable, half-starved, and utterly destitute. The disaster that had fallen was more than the home resources of Gossner and his congregation could remedy. He wrote on December 4, 1857, to the Church Missionary Society as follows:—

“BRETHREN,

“It is not unknown to you that I have, by the grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, been endeavouring to do something towards the promotion of the Redeemer’s kingdom in India. But entering now on my eighty-fifth year, and feeling my strength failing me . . . I propose, in the LORD, to transfer the said Missions to the care of the Missionary Society of the Church of England.”

This request of the aged German pastor was again and again repeated, but the Church Missionary Society hesitated to take the step. At the same time they most generously sent out £1,000 to help the strained financial position. The death of Pastor Gossner came in the midst of all the home difficulties of the Mission, and then troubles soon began. A new committee ruled, who sent out younger men of

a different type and school of thought to the earlier missionaries whom Pastor Gossner had chosen. The latter still clung to the desire of ultimate union with the English Church, and such ideas were strengthened both by the precariousness of supplies from Germany and also by the uncompromising attitude of the younger missionaries.

At last, an irreconcilable breach occurred, and the older Lutherans appealed to Bishop Milman of Calcutta to come down. He came not a moment too soon. The Christian harvest in Chhota Nagpur, though ripe for the sickle, was wasting away owing to unhappy divisions. The older men were completely cast off. Even the home committee sided against them. They had nowhere to turn except to where Pastor Gossner had himself pointed them. Bishop Milman, at first, made every effort to bring about a reconciliation, but the breach was too wide to be healed. He at length acted with that firmness and decision which alone could bring order out of chaos. The younger Lutherans went their own way, the older missionaries united with the Church of England (1869), and from that time forward progress again became possible. It is a

happiness to record that entirely friendly relations were restored in later years, and both branches of the Mission have developed in a remarkable degree, having each its own sphere of action and its own method of work. There was much heart-burning at the time on account of the step Bishop Milman felt compelled to take. But there can be little question, in the light of after events, that it was a wise one.

The number of converts who came to the Bishop with the older Lutheran brethren was, roughly, about 7,000. There was an immediate need of fresh workers if such a large number were to be shepherded adequately. Jabez C. Whitley, an S.P.G. missionary, who had worked with Winter at Delhi, was the first to be sent. He was deeply touched at the welcome given him by the old German brethren. In union with them the work of reorganization began. Great care was taken to continue the system of village eldership—the leading Christian in each village acting voluntarily as elder of the village. Out of these, picked men were taken and trained for the diaconate and priesthood, and in this way the lines of an indigenous and self-supporting Church were laid down from the first. When Bishop

Milman paid his second visit, after an absence of four years, he found five candidates, both intellectually and spiritually prepared, for the sacred gift of ordination. In the new church which had been built in the interval, he ordained the firstfruits of the Kol Christians.

Peace and order were now reigning instead of division and confusion, and the Bishop's heart was deeply moved by the progress that had been made. A system of primitive discipline received his heartiest sanction. In every church a rail was put up at the west-end to mark off those who were under penance. Their names were read out publicly after the Nicene Creed, and a solemn warning was given to the faithful not to resort to their company, until the time of penance had expired. When that time came the penitents were absolved by the priest, after public confession, in the presence of the whole congregation. They were then welcomed back into the fold with great joy. The spirit of self-help and voluntary work on the one hand, and the primitive system of discipline on the other, strengthened the young growing Church in those early days, and saved the large ingathering from sinking back to the old pagan level.

Ten years of steady persistent work, carried on by an increasing number of workers, deepened the characters of the Kol Christians, and now at last an orderly development seemed certain, when a new trouble began. A large staff of Jesuit missionaries appeared, who entered into the agrarian disputes of the people with their Hindu landlords, and persuaded Christians and non-Christian Kols alike to join their mission, promising their support. The Jesuits worked with unremitting self-sacrifice and devotion, but employed the method of baptizing every one who came to them, with little or no instruction or moral change of life, in the hope of obtaining their children, and influencing them in their schools. In a few years they declared 50,000 converts, many of whom were drawn from the other Missions.

In the face of this very strongly staffed and organized Mission, the Anglican clergy were like scattered units under no central direction and control. The time had clearly come for a Bishopric of Chhota Nagpur. After many years of most wearying delay, the Rev. J. C. Whitley was consecrated Bishop in the Ranchi Church (May 23, 1890), by the Bishops of Calcutta, Bombay, and

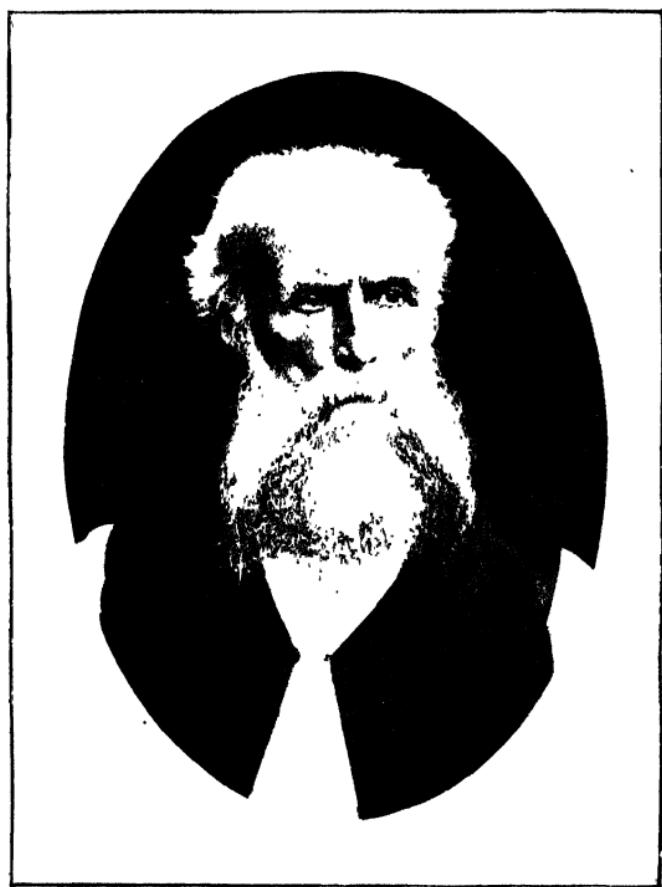


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BISHOP WHITLEY.

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Lahore. It was a great joy to all that the consecration was permitted in the central church of the new diocese, and was not held 7,000 miles away in England.

By the consecration of the Bishop, the organization of the growing Church in Chhota Nagpur was complete. Now at last the Kol Christians had their own Father in GOD, living in their very midst, speaking as one of themselves their own language, himself, by his twenty years' residence in and out among the people, almost a native of the country. To a primitive people, whose simple ideal of social life is loyalty and obedience to a chief, the spiritual gain was very great indeed. The Bishop became at once their great Father, who could sympathize with them in their village homes, and whose visits were looked forward to with eager enthusiasm. In no country in the world, perhaps, does the supreme value of the episcopate stand out more clearly than it does in India. Loyalty to a central person is an instinct among India's great unlettered rural population. Furthermore, India is a land of traditions, a land in which the past counts for more than the present. To be linked with the Church of all the ages, to

be in a direct historical succession from the Apostles themselves, to share in the inheritance of all the saints and martyrs of old time,—these are ideas singularly vivid to the Indian mind when once clearly presented. One of the saddest facts to look back upon in the history of Church Missions in North India, has been the continual delays and legal hindrances with regard to the formation of new bishoprics, and the lack of direct personal leadership in consequence, which has so often involved grievous spiritual loss.

The next great step forward was the arrival of the Dublin Mission Brotherhood, and the lady workers connected with them, in 1891. This reinforcement gave an added impetus to the work, and made the more careful shepherding of the converts possible. The enormous number of tiny villages, out of which the Christians were gathered, made frequent visiting most difficult, and yet imperative if discipline were to be maintained. Only an organized staff of men at headquarters could hope to carry out continuous superintendence. But even more necessary for the future was the training of the younger generation. Just as the mission schools of

S. Aidan, the Venerable Bede, and S. Dunstan, saved the Anglo-Saxon Church from going backward, so it has been in Chhota Nagpur. The schools, both for Christian boys and girls, have marked the permanent occupation of the land for CHRIST, and have strengthened the line of advance. Such remarkable progress has been made since the schools were opened, that now a college, in which University degrees are obtained by the children of primitive unlettered aborigines, has been established.

While the Dublin missionaries placed themselves entirely at the service of the Bishop, and were ready to undertake any work that was given them to do, they asked, if possible, for a special and difficult field, which should be peculiarly their own. They were entrusted with the Hazaribagh district, which lay in the northern part of the diocese, and had hardly yet been touched by missionary effort. In addition, they offered to undertake the higher educational work among Indian Christians.

It is impossible to go further into the history of this Missionary Diocese, though questions of supreme interest arise as to the present and the future. It will be best to sum up the

results by making two quotations, each representing one aspect of the work. Speaking at the S. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta, and summing up his Indian experiences, Sir John Woodburn, who was at the time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, made the following utterance with regard to the intellectual awakening of the converts : " While speaking of Chhota Nagpur, I was thinking of the surprise that awaited even so old an Indian as myself. We are accustomed to hear and speak of the savage tribes of the hills, as almost irreclaimable from the naked barbarism of their nomad life. What did I find ? In the schools of the missionaries there are scores of Kol boys, rapidly attaining University standards in education. It was to me a revelation that the savage intellect, which we are apt to regard as dwarfed, and dull, and inept, is as acute and quick to acquire knowledge as that of the sons of generations of culture. It seems incredible, but it is the fact, that these Kol lads are walking straight into the lists of competition with the high-bred youth of Bengal. This is a circumstance so strange even to me, so striking, so full of significance for the future, that I could not refrain from telling you of

this last surprise of this wonderful land we live in."

The second quotation is from the conclusion of Dr. Eyre Chatterton's inspiring book on the Dublin University Mission. He refers to the spiritual awakening which has taken place, and its possible results : "When we pass from the North, which is still non-Christian, into the central and southern parts of Chhota Nagpur, we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. Here, in the midst of a great aboriginal population, are thousands of Kol Christians, and many heathen Kols still pressing into the Church. No one who has ever been among them can doubt that, however unworthy may have been the early motives of many in embracing Christianity, in embracing it they have found LIFE. moral, intellectual, spiritual. What effect is their remarkable conversion likely to have on mission work outside their own race—on the other races of India? At once we reply, without hesitation, far more than any one could have possibly imagined twenty years ago. Even now some of the Kol converts are being used for work as catechists among the Gonds of the Central Provinces, as well as in Calcutta and Assam. As

education spreads among them, it seems likely that what S. Paul said of his converts of Corinth will prove true of them, and the weak things of the world will be used by GOD to confound the things that are mighty."

As the mass movements towards Christianity will not come before us again in a detailed form, it will be well at this point to face clearly and candidly the problems which they involve, and to inquire carefully what may be and what may not be legitimate with regard to them. Are we at liberty, with our Christian standard given us in the Gospels, to accept comparatively low forms of motive in the first instance, in dealing with the lower races? Do motives which appear low to us appear in the same light to them? Are they not, in the case of the lower races, the only primary motives which do appeal? Are we permitted to make the lower races Christians first and raise them afterwards? Can we, at least, when a movement has begun among them, through a definitely religious conversion of the two or three quite exceptional men, go on to accept the mass who have no religious conviction, but who follow a lead that is given them like a flock of sheep?

In the Chhota Nagpur Mission this last illustra-

tion seems to give the picture of what happened. The first advances towards Christianity seem to have been made by a few exceptional men among the Kols ; the motive as described in their case seems to have been genuinely religious ; then followed the rush of so-called converts and the flooding in of mixed motives connected with land and other secular matters. The Kols undoubtedly expected by means of the Mission to obtain a rise in social status and prosperity, and this expectation proved true. But a mere rise in social status was not the only result. Their whole life, body, soul, and spirit, seems to have been raised after their inclusion within the Christian Body. They are now intellectually and morally stronger than they were before, and many of them are doing devoted and unselfish missionary work to-day.

In the Krishnagar mass movement the same result does not seem to have taken place. A large ingathering came first, but then a falling off and relapse into heathen practices began. There are "black spots" in mission-work to-day in India where a mass movement, due to mixed motives, has first made great advance and then failed. Such failures must be taken into consideration as well as the very marked successes.

What is needed in the Church is a scientific working out of the actual experimental results of mass movements—what motives have been strong in this or that case, what have been the results following, what methods have been employed, what amount of shepherding was possible, what indigenous growth has taken place, etc. Such literature needs to be written from the critical rather than the emotional standpoint. Then it may be possible to get to some general principles and settled modes of action.

At present different Missions take different courses. Some Missions accept any and every motive, so that numbers may be first added to the Church and then, after baptism, be trained and schooled in Christian surroundings and in Christian ways. Others adopt what is practically the same line of development, but deceive themselves as to what is really going on, and in their eagerness for converts overlook what is the strongest motive behind the so-called conversion. The result in both cases is the same—very large accessions; but in the second case the danger of such accessions is greater, because the situation has not been frankly faced from the outset, and more spiritual growth is presupposed than has

really taken place, and grievous miscalculations are likely to be made. A kind of mutual self-deceit takes place, which is a fruitful ground for religious hypocrisy.

A third section of missionaries accept large numbers when they come forward for baptism, but demand a long catechumenate. This at first sight seems the wiser course to take, but there are considerable practical difficulties in the way. The marriage question becomes an extremely complicated one. Can catechumens marry with the baptized? Can they give their daughters (who are not yet catechumens) in marriage to heathen? Can a Christian marriage be made in the catechumen stage? Idolatry being intimately connected with non-Christian marriage, such questions loom large. Further still, the *individual* initiative being extremely weak in these lower races, a prolonged catechumenate (in which the individual belongs neither to one body nor the other, but stands in a precarious isolated position between the two) is a fruitful source of heart-breaking disappointment and confusion.

A fourth section of missionaries apply with more or less strictness the individual tests of

real conversion, and take in converts one by one, refusing to allow, as far as possible, any motives of material advantage to intervene. At first sight this course, while disregarding quantity, would seem to ensure quality. But this expected result does not always happen. The smallness of the numbers brings with it restrictions and limitations as to marriage, occupation, etc. There is no large community of Christians with a varied life within its own borders and abundant opportunity of intermarriage, but a small and feeble body with great pressure from the outside world and narrow resources within. Such a body becomes necessarily very dependent on the foreign missionary, and is often pauperized by his kindness. It also tends in India to become a kind of close community outside the life of the nation, and to develop anew something of the caste-spirit.

The above is by no means an exact analysis of the different methods and their results, but it may serve for a broad outline. To turn back to Chhota Nagpur: the Jesuits took frankly the first position here sketched: with them it was everything to get large numbers baptized, and they openly assisted in the land disputes in order to gain their object,

their justification being that, once within the Church, the multitude could be properly shepherded. The Lutherans probably disguised from themselves, in the early days, the secular motives which were making whole villages of the Kols flock into the Church. They gave less temporal aid and protection than the Jesuits, but, at the same time, were not altogether discriminating in their methods. The English missionaries have been much more careful and discriminating, and have admitted far fewer numbers to baptism. They had the advantage, however, of receiving at the start a very considerable Christian population on which to work. If their results are at present the most satisfactory in quality, it must not be assumed that this would have happened had strict "Anglican" methods been employed from the first: in that case it is just possible that the Church might have remained too narrow and confined, and that the difficulties of a small, close community would have appeared in all their force.

We need, as has been said above, to have before us an examination of the effects of different methods of work among the masses in different fields, with an equally careful inquiry into the

innate vigour and initial capacity for improvement in the different peoples affected. To take some mission-fields for example:—What is the comparative progress in the English Missions and the Roman Missions in Uganda—in the Universities' Mission and the Scotch Missions round Lake Nyasa—in the S.P.G. and C.M.S. and Baptist Missions in Tinnevelly—in the Roman Missions and the China Inland Mission in China? What accounts for the extraordinary difference in the history of the Anglican Missions in Korea, which almost up to the present time have been a comparative failure, and the Presbyterian Missions in the same country, which have been an extraordinary success, and which now equal, if not excel, Uganda in the power of self-propagation? Further still, in order to make the investigation complete, the question will have to be asked—Is Japan, where no mass movement towards Christianity on a large scale has occurred as yet, more favourably situated to-day on account of the high respect for the Faith among non-Christians, than other countries where rapid accessions have lowered for the time being the estimate of the Christian Church in the eyes of the educated classes?

A study of our LORD'S own injunctions and

methods will go hand in hand with such investigations and enquiries, as a guide and corrective. It may be that we shall be left in doubt as to the exact course to be pursued. The spirit rather than the letter of CHRIST'S teaching will have to be followed. Two points call for consideration. On the one hand there can be no question that, as the Ministry proceeded, our LORD concentrated His attention more and more on choice souls, from whom He demanded complete self-sacrifice. When the conscience of man was developed and individualized, then everything was done by CHRIST to strengthen individual responsibility. But there is also recorded, in every Gospel, CHRIST'S dealing with the multitudes, who were "as sheep having no shepherd"; and His compassion in this case appears to be not merely for the individual souls but for the multitudes themselves, and He treats them and deals with them in the mass. The parables of the Drag-net and the Marriage Supper may be read in a similar manner, though here we are on more doubtful ground. Last of all, it is interesting to note that, while in the second Gospel the missionary command is in a measure "individualized," individual belief or disbelief being the criterion, in the

first Gospel the command seems to refer primarily to the nations: "Go, disciple all nations, baptizing them [i.e., the nations] . . . teaching them" [i.e., the nations].

There seems, therefore, some justification, from our LORD'S own words, for "putting to school" the backward races, admitting them in the mass within the Church, if they are ready to come, in order that, once within the Christian Body, they may be leavened through and through with the Christian life. At the same time, when dealing with self-conscious and responsible individuals, who have reached the stage of being able to make a full self-conscious choice, we must, if we follow our LORD closely, emphasize to the full the individual responsibility and sacrifice required to enter the kingdom. To whom much is already given, of him much must be required.

A possible analogy, familiar to every parish priest among the poor in England, may help to make the thought clearer—though the analogy must not be pressed. When I was working in a College Mission in South London, a continual anxiety and trouble to me was the receiving into the Church by Holy Baptism of the little children of parents who were leading a life of absolute

indifference to the Faith. The motives which brought the mother with her baby to the font were often of the lowest description. The phrase, "having it done," was common in the district. Yet in order to welcome the little helpless children within the arms of the Church, who would be a true Mother to them, teach them virtue, school them and train them in a higher life, we were always ready (except in extreme cases) to receive and to baptize those who came even from the very worst families, thus gaining, as it were, a hold upon them which could not be obtained in any other way. We acted on the principle that within the fold of the Church there was at least hope of advance and growth; outside, in the atmosphere of the world of sin around them, there was no hope at all. May not the backward races, which have not risen as yet to self-consciousness and independence of thought and action, be treated as the "infants" of the great race of mankind, and received by "infant" Baptism within the arms of Mother Church, on the one only condition that the Church herself stand sponsor, being prepared to shepherd and instruct them according to their need and to be responsible for their bringing up? May not this be done, while at the same

time a high standard of sacrifice and individual choice remains for those whose position in society is such that they are "children" no longer, but "men," possessing a developed personality? From those who have much already may not much be required, in comparison with those who have had no chance in life at all and who have never risen in the social and intellectual scale?

CHAPTER IV

FATHER GOREH

BENARES stands out among the cities of India as the "holy city." Of immemorial antiquity, built on a rising spur of land round which the sacred Ganges flows, it has been the goal of aspiration and the haven of devotion to pious Hindu souls in all ages. The depth of sentiment, reverence, and affection which has gathered round this city of pilgrimage can hardly be understood in the West.

Here had come in his old age Dinkarpurth Goreh, the ex-President of Nawab Ali Bahadur, to spend his last days in meditation and retirement from the world, accompanied by his son, whose heart was also given to the spiritual life. Nilakantha Goreh was the latter's firstborn child, brought up in this home of piety and quiet peace, the object of his father's spiritual care from his earliest years. The family was one of the highest Brahman families in the land, and

the priestly duties were most scrupulously performed each day in the household. Nilakantha's father gradually retired more and more completely from worldly affairs, as his own father had done before him. When his wife died he built himself a little hut, and lived there as a recluse, never leaving it except to go on pilgrimage. Nilakantha, his son, was his one link with the outer world; on him he poured the most tender and devoted affection, and gave him the most careful training in the Sanskrit Scriptures, so that he became, when quite young, a "Shastri," or Doctor of Sanskrit Divinity. The young scholar, by his own ascetic life, and the far-famed spirituality of his ancestors, became well known in the higher intellectual circles of Benares as a spiritual leader of the future. He was shy and retiring, calm and gentle in manners, with a singularly keen and subtle intellect trained in the great philosophic systems of Hinduism.

The Rev. W. Smith at this time was preaching with stammering lips the message of the Cross within the sacred Hindu city. To the Shastri, the feeble knowledge of Sanskrit, the ignorance of the deep things of Hindu philosophy in the Christian padre roused at first only contempt.

Why should he come with his crude material ideas to the spiritual centre of the East? Nilakantha's zeal overcame his shyness, and he visited Mr. Smith at his house. "I heard," he wrote of himself later, "that the Christian padre was a man of great piety, and the foolish thought came to me that I would show him the great beauty of the Hindu religion and convert him. I say 'foolish thought' now, but then I believed it was an inspiration from the gods, and so did my father. I came away greatly disappointed, for he would not argue, but referred me to the New Testament." He tells us later how the reading of the Sermon on the Mount was the turning-point in his life. After reading that, all contempt for Christianity vanished, and he started to pray earnestly for light, which came little by little. "The New Testament," he writes, "once despised, now became the absorbing study of my life. I began to feel my own sinfulness as I had never done before."

Now began the struggle to break with the caste associations in which his whole life and being had been hitherto entwined. Every family influence was brought to bear against his new faith, with all the heart-breaking and crushing force which Hinduism is able to wield. "At this period," he

relates, "I felt as though I were a thief in my father's house. . . . I felt that the very trees and walls and bricks were crying shame upon me, and that I could look no one in the face. . . . Had I been a murderer, or a great criminal, the feeling against me would have been less strong. . . . You English cannot imagine what it is for a Brahman to become a Christian. *It is very awful.*" He adds, "I finally told my father of my change of faith. This was so sad a time—so sad and awful that I can sit here and recall all that happened as if it happened yesterday—my poor old father's desolate grief at my confession, his prayers, and his tears. My poor father! He even fell at my feet, and begged me for the sake of his grey hairs not to bring so grievous a trial on him. I was very, very sad, and most of all at my father's falling at my feet. He actually did this. He said to me further, 'Your mother is dead; I have now no one left but you. If I lose you, too, oh! what will become of me?'"

Nilakantha's dearest friend, who was to be baptized with him, left him in the hour of trial, and went back. For a short period, Nilakantha himself wavered and returned. "The image of my father," he wrote, "seems to be continually

before me. His last look so full of reproach, of sorrow, and of agony, I cannot forget it. It haunts me day and night, sleeping and waking. I must—I must return." But his faith itself never changed, and his determination to be baptized grew stronger again. His father now threatened to destroy himself; but even the terror of this could not drive Nilakantha from his purpose. Once an attempt was made to drug him, and every hindrance that human ingenuity could devise was put in his way to keep him at his father's house and prevent his visiting the missionaries. But at last the struggle was over, the victory was won, and in the cleansing baptismal waters his past was washed away and his new life begun.

Like Saul of Tarsus, the young convert immediately began to witness openly for CHRIST. Mud and stones were thrown at him in the bazaar by his former friends, but peace and joy reigned in his heart, and later in the year a strange thing happened. His father, whose agony had been greatest, and whose opposition had been most vehement, was the first to be reconciled. The old man was himself deeply religious, and he could feel the religious spirit of his son. Out-

cast though he was the old man recalled him, and could not bear him to be long away from his own presence. Nehemiah (such was Nilakantha's Christian name) would come to see him in his solitary hut and prostrate himself before him. The father would neither touch him, nor eat from his hand; but he loved to see him. He would talk with him and with no one else. "Do not become a free thinker," he would say, "man cannot exist without religion. You are religious by nature. You have left Hinduism, but Christianity is a religion—do not give it up." Beneath the tremendous gulf which yawned between them—the aged Hindu devotee and the young ardent Christian—there was this common bond of sympathy and unity—they were seekers after GOD, and counted the world as naught compared with the things of the soul.

It is impossible to tell at length the story of his wife, Lakshmibai: how, after struggles and difficulties almost equal to those of her husband, she came back to his side: how a child was born to them, and mother and daughter were both baptized together. Two days later, the frail, delicate lady was taken to her rest. Nehemiah gave his tiny daughter into the keeping

of a devoted Christian family, and from that time forward cut himself off entirely from the world.

It was in 1857, while at Calcutta, that the great change came in Goreh's views with regard to the Catholic Church. He had long felt the need of a stronger basis of authority than his own individual judgement. At times his spirit was racked with tormenting doubts. The moral change which had taken place at his conversion had brought him from self-confidence to supreme self-depreciation, a quality which remained, perhaps, the strongest and most beautiful feature in his later life. This very humility brought back old questionings, and he longed for a sure refuge. He tells us how the reading of the Early Fathers under Dr. Kay, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, was a revelation to him. From that time he longed for the monastic life. When he heard of the Cowley Fathers at Oxford, and the possibility of their work in India, he was filled with thankfulness. His correspondence with Father Benson, which contributed to the Cowley Mission being started in India and his own working with them, forms, perhaps, the most illuminating part of Father Gardner's *Life*.

of Goreh. In this correspondence Nehemiah Goreh reveals his own inner spiritual struggles, and also his own conceptions of the spread of the Christian Faith in India. He believed that India could not be won for CHRIST by westernizing the East, but rather by boldly claiming for CHRIST the Eastern ideals of poverty and self-renunciation — ideals which find so high a place in the words of CHRIST Himself.

When Father O'Neill came out to India, Nehemiah joined him, and they lived together at Bankipur, and elsewhere, up to the time of Father O'Neill's sad death from cholera at Indore. O'Neill was a spiritual friend and guide after Padre Nehemiah's own heart. He gave up every European comfort, and lived among the people, eating their food, living, dining, sleeping as they did, leading a life of poverty which made him one with the poorest. Nehemiah was never happier than when sharing his companionship. "How can I speak," he writes, "of that saintly man! He taught me more than any one else about the Catholic Faith. I have a strange peculiarity. It is this. Without necessarily knowing the person, I love him with an absorbing passion. I got to love Dr. Pusey so, though I did not know

him." It was this same spiritual kinship which he found in Father O'Neill, and from the very first his whole heart went out to him in an absorbing passion of love, which was one of the most beautiful things ever witnessed in the Indian mission-field—European and Indian, of one heart and one soul in CHRIST, living as brothers together the life of self-renunciation.

Padre Nehemiah went to Cowley itself to pass his novitiate in the Society of S. John the Evangelist. The cold of England, and the unaccustomed food and life tried him terribly, and he never could reconcile himself to the Anglican methods of prayer and meditation. This difficulty in following the Western Offices of the Church was a sore trial to him, and in consequence he was never professed as a full member of the Society, but remained a novice until 1885, when he sent in his resignation. In his humility he would put down his failings in the Society to his own sinfulness and sloth, but there can be little question that the difficulty lay rather in an Eastern mind endeavouring to adapt itself to a purely Western system. "I used," he wrote to Father Page, "to get fearfully tired, and then the little time I could spend more profitably in some other

form of devotion, which suited my peculiar state, I was obliged to waste in saying the Offices in an entirely distracted frame of mind." He relates how he would wish to pause over some thought which came to him in the recitation of a psalm or chapter, but instead, he was compelled to hurry on, till his mind became a blank and spiritual feeling impossible. He had intense pleasure, though (as he frankly confesses) some disappointment, in his visits to Dr. Pusey. He could not understand him, and found conversation with him very difficult.

With regard to English Church life he was most distressed by the haste in reciting the Divine Service, and by the lack of the daily witness of religion—churches being closed and no worship offered from week end to week end. Religion in England seemed either forgotten, or else rushed through in a formal way. He had discarded long ago the vain repetition of Sanskrit slokas and mantras, but much in Western modes of worship seemed to be of the same character—the same carelessness, the same irreverence, the same formalism.

One of his dearest memories in England was a visit to Cuddesdon. He found there a haven of

rest and devotion, and spoke often about the college in later days. Canon Furse gave him a little picture of S. Francis of Assisi, and this he always kept with him in India along with his crucifix. Those who have themselves been students at Cuddesdon will be glad to have this incident brought to their notice.

On one occasion while in England, he gave with great diffidence, his own impression of missionary work as it was then being carried on in India. He pointed out how the luxury of English life, with its continual round of gaiety and sport, was a stumbling-block to a frugal, self-denying Eastern people, whose ideal of religion and spirituality was the contempt of riches, and withdrawal from the world; the missionaries, living much in the same way as Government officials, were too identified with the conquering race and its worldly pomp and prestige, and therefore could not give that vision of humility and sacred poverty which would win the spiritually-minded among Indian religious leaders. For these and other reasons he pleaded for a missionary celibate life, lived for the people and among the people, in absolute poverty and renunciation of the world. He asked for more simplicity, and less organiza-

tion, more of the East and less of the West in methods of work.

While Nehemiah Goreh lived himself the life of poverty, and loved to work among the simple ignorant villagers, he was engaged without intermission on intellectual work in defence of the Faith. Some of his apologetic writings have become classics in Indian Christian Theology. He was an original thinker. Two names stand out among the higher educated Indians who were brought to a decision for CHRIST by his instrumentality.

Safdar Ali, was a Mohammedan mystic, who had sought for many years, by a life of sanctity and meditation, and withdrawal from the world, to obtain mystical union with GOD. He could not rest or find peace in Islam, and describes himself as like one dying of thirst in the desert of life. For days at a time he would sit wrapt in silence, taking no food, waiting for a vision of the Truth which never came. Around him were a body of disciples, filled with the same longing as their master. He had read the New Testament, but had never met a Christian ascetic. At last he heard of Padre Nehemiah, and sent word to Benares. The Padre set off the same night, and

they embraced each other warmly when they met. The two then sat down upon the ground—the Mohammedan Sufi inquirer, and the ex-Brahman Christian priest—and the discussion began. It was continued for many days, and while the intellectual points were discussed and answered, the spiritual personality of the Christian ascetic impressed the inquirer more than any argument, and Safdar Ali at the conclusion named Goreh his own *murshid* or spiritual guide, and was baptized. In later years Safdar Ali helped to bring to a knowledge of the Faith the most learned of all Indians who have come to CHRIST from Islam—the famous Dr. Imad ud Din of the Panjab.

Pandita Ramabai, the Brahman widow, was the second notable convert. She had been highly educated from childhood in Sanskrit literature by her father, and had wedded an Indian gentleman who died shortly after their marriage, leaving one little daughter. The Pandita went to England and returned and became a member of one of the reforming Hindu communities. For a long time her opposition to Christianity was bitter, but she was won over at last by Padre Nehemiah. "His humble, sweet voice," she writes,

"pierced my heart. Oh! what a mighty power he has. I think no one could have turned my heart from the Brahman religion but Father Goreh." The Pandita is now known throughout India for her Widows' Home at Poona. Its history has been one of the triumphs of faith and prayer, somewhat similar to the work of George Müller in Bristol. In 1905 and 1906 the Home was the scene of a remarkable spiritual revival. The Pandita is still living and guiding the institution.

The last year of Father Goreh's life forms one of its most beautiful chapters. He was deeply, ardently hoping for his brother's conversion, and had gone to Allahabad. While walking to the early Eucharist in the cathedral, he had been drenched by rain and chilled through and through, and became very ill. The Bishop and Mrs. Clifford moved him to their own house, and watched over the frail old man with every tenderness and care. His daughter, who was now a deaconess, came to nurse him, and he had the joy of her companionship during his long illness. Their affection for one another was very deep, and he had often longed in the midst of his arduous labours to have her by his side. This boon was

now granted. In this last year a deep passion came upon him for his brother's conversion, and he strained his failing health to see him and entreat him again and again to decide for CHRIST. His gentleness and meekness were now even more marked than at other periods of his life. The Cowley Fathers came down one by one from Poona, and he received them with the most touching affection. At last the heat of Allahabad became unbearable for him, and he was taken to Mazagon, Bombay. His health somewhat improved, and he was busily engaged in the revision of the Marathi Prayer Book, and in a reply to the Rev. Luke Rivington concerning the Doctrine of the Real Presence. His brother came to visit him at Mazagon, and for some days all his time was given up to him, while he pleaded with him for the last time. Father Gardner writes with regard to a break in his illness:—"I had been ordered home to England. This was the day of sailing. Father Kershaw and I were alone at the Mission House, and he and the choirboys had agreed to accompany me as far as the ship. . . . During our meal together with the boys, Father Goreh came in, and took part in all our fun. I do not remember when I had seen him so

cheerful before. It is a very happy last recollection of him. His sweet face was all smiling at the children's prattle."

During the time he was in Bombay he was tended with a motherly care by Mrs. Henry Pope, who gave herself up to nursing him. She writes: "He was in constant and severe pain, but always silent, patient, prayerful. When some one proposed at this time that he should answer some public attacks on him made by Hindus, he replied, 'All that is past: I am too ill for that now.' The only person he never ceased arguing with both by letter and by word of mouth was his brother, but he died without the satisfaction of convincing him. He said once, 'I have made one request to GOD for forty-two years, and He has not granted it to me yet.' This prayer was for joy in religion. He longed for it with no common desire, but GOD never granted it to him." His death came very suddenly at last, almost in his sleep, and his saintly life, purified and chastened by continual suffering, was taken up to higher spheres of service.

At Christmas-tide last year, I stayed at the Sigrā Mission House, Benares, where the steps of young Nilakantha Goreh had so often turned

to inquire concerning the Christian Faith. I sat, thinking of the past, in the very room where he had knelt in prayer with Mr. Smith, seeking for the light. Suddenly, outside in the compound, there rose from Indian children's voices the Christmas hymn of triumph—*Ai, sab imandaro.*

"O COME, all ye faithful,
Joyful and triumphant,
O come ye, O come ye to Bethlehem ;
Come and adore Him
Born, the King of Angels;
O come, let us adore Him, CHRIST the LORD.

God of God,
Light of Light,
Lo ! He abhors not the Virgin's womb ;
Very God,
Begotten, not created ;
O come, let us adore Him, CHRIST the LORD."

In the faith of the Incarnation Nehemiah Goreh lived and worked and died. His may not have been the triumphant joy that is vouchsafed to some saintly souls, but deep penitence, and humility, and lowliness of heart were his, the gift of the Incarnate Saviour Who said, "Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart ; and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

I went on from the Christian Church at Sigra into the city of Benares itself. For hours I stayed watching the stream of Hindu devotees passing through, from temple to temple, performing their round of ceremonies, doing puja with Ganges water, marigold-flowers and rice, at the different idol shrines. Most of the worshippers seemed intent on getting through as many visits to the numberless idols as possible; yet every now and then among the crowd there might be seen a pathetically earnest face, full of ardent, spiritual longing. Many sadhu ascetics joined the throng, and among them also might be seen faces stamped with earnestness and desire for salvation. The sight stirred one's own heart to the depths, and one longed to be able to hold with them spiritual communion and to help them forward to the light. As the stream of worshippers flowed on and on, one seemed to get a glimpse into the soul of the Indian nation, and to understand better its inextinguishable passion for religion.

The crows and sparrows kept swooping down, when a pause occurred, to steal away the rice. At intervals the attendant came round with a broom to sweep away the filth of the dirty water

and decaying flowers. Cows received the acts of worship equally with the idols themselves. In the "Cow Temple," they were the special object of devotion.

How repulsive it was, and yet how full of pathos! No other country in the world has stronger religious instincts. No other country in the world has allowed them to go so perversely astray.

I went away, saddened at heart, back to the quiet Christian church, to pray and meditate. Christmas Day was near, and I read the words of peace, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day . . . a Saviour, which is CHRIST the LORD. . . . And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising GOD, and saying, Glory to GOD in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

And then there came back once more the vision, the pathos of those Hindu faces—old men and old women most of them, who had come to find salvation,—their objects of worship so hideous—Shiva as the bull, Kali with her red tongue and her necklace of skulls, cows and

monkeys—the religious, the spiritual instinct so strong, the material embodiment so gross.

There are hundreds of philosophers and men of culture in Benares, the seat of Hindu learning, men who look down upon the vanity of idol worship as only fit for the common people. There is much in the higher ranges of Hindu philosophy that is directly opposed to the idolatrous spirit, and nobly monotheistic. But where are the earnest reformers who are ready to *teach* the common people? The Arya Samaj in the North may not possess the Sanskrit erudition of the Benares Pandits, but it is making, and has made, a noble protest against idol worship among the masses, and deserves honour and respect for that protest.

Benares is now the centre of Theosophy in the North. I visited Mrs. Besant's school and college, which is crowded with young students, and for which she asks the alms of Christian people in London. In the midst of the great court, in the most conspicuous place of all, is an idol temple, with an idol of the goddess Saraswati, before which the young boys and undergraduates do their puja. Not in this way can salvation be found. Idolatry has ever been and ever will be

the curse of any country, and the fruitful source of national degeneration. The spirit of India, so noble, so lofty in its higher ranges of thought and culture, will awake one day as from a nightmare dream, and shake off the fetters of evil superstitions which so long have held it in captivity!

CHAPTER V

THE OXFORD MISSION TO CALCUTTA

DUFF, as an earlier chapter has related, appeared on the scene in Calcutta at a critical educational and religious epoch. His name is linked with that of the greatest Indian reformer of the century, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The beginnings of the Oxford Mission are linked with the name of his famous successor, Babu Keshab Chander Sen, who for a time dominated the intellectual thought of Bengal by his commanding personality and oratorical powers. In 1870 he visited England, and his utterances both there and in Calcutta were so inspired with a reverence for the Person and Character of CHRIST that he seemed to be leading his own followers to the very verge of the Christian Faith itself.¹ In

¹ The following was one of his most famous utterances, which was received at the time with acceptance and welcome, and quoted far and wide by Indians themselves:—“If you wish to secure the attachment and allegiance of India, it must be by spiritual influence and moral suasion.

later years, however, a reaction took place in his modes of thought and life, and although he never ceased to place the "Oriental CHRIST," concerning Whom he wrote and taught, at the highest pinnacle of his religious system, his movement drifted further and further away from the Christian Church.

It was in the midst of this time of ferment that the Oxford Mission began its work in Calcutta in 1881. Bishop Johnson, who had succeeded Bishop Milman as Metropolitan, was the founder in India of this new effort of the Church, and Dr. King, the present Bishop of Lincoln, was the founder in Oxford itself. To these two Fathers of the Church, along with two devoted ladies, Miss Murray and Miss Argles, is chiefly due, under GOD, the fostering care and supply of resources for the great enterprise.

The Festival of the Epiphany, 1881, was the And such indeed has been the case. You cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered and subjugated by a superior power. That power, need I tell you, is CHRIST. It is CHRIST Who rules British India, not the British Government. England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty Prophet, to conquer and hold this vast Empire. None but JESUS ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and JESUS shall have it!"

real birthday of the Oxford Mission. During the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, the Rev. E. F. Willis, who had been Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College, was installed as Superior by the Bishop of Calcutta, with the Rev. Wilfrid Hornby and the Rev. E. F. Brown as professed members of the Brotherhood. The Rev. M. F. Argles joined the Community towards the end of the year. The work developed very quietly, and at first was almost entirely confined to the care and training of Indian Christian children, along with quiet talks with educated Indians and occasional lectures. In 1883 the name of the Brotherhood was changed from that of S. Paul to "The Brotherhood of the Epiphany," and the new effort seemed starting with every promise and hope when a double blow occurred. First, Mr. Argles was invalidated home, and died a fortnight after his return to England, and then the Superior's health gave way, and he was incapacitated from any further work.

The Rev. C. Gore, now Bishop of Birmingham, came out for a short stay, to cheer the remaining Brethren and relieve the strain, and the Rev. P. S. Smith joined the Brotherhood as a professed member. The Rev. H. Whitehead also, who came

to Calcutta independently as Principal of Bishop's College, gave help in the time of need. After a short interval the new Superior was chosen, the Rev. C. W. Townsend, of Keble, who came out direct from home to take up the duty and responsibility. The Rev. C. H. Walker, of Oriel, was admitted to the Brotherhood at the same time.

But again the Mission was to be visited with loss. Philip Smith, whose saintly life, though so short, had been a vision of purity and gentleness in the midst of the city, suddenly fell ill and died. Sir William Hunter has described Philip Smith's wonderful depths of affection: how in the poorer quarters of Calcutta the English priest was known and loved, and how Bengalis and their little children would press around him, and he would take the children in his arms and bless them.

But another blow was yet to come. A little more than two years later the Superior, Mr. Townsend, who had performed devoted service in those early, formative days, felt obliged to resign and make his submission to the See of Rome. He did everything he could in order that the blow might fall as lightly as possible upon the Mission, but the event brought widespread consternation in England, and funds began

to fail. The Brotherhood met this last disaster with undaunted courage. "I think," wrote one, "our existence as a Mission seems a miracle, after all the losses we have had; but the analogy of the past is hopeful. Please let all our friends know that everything will go on just exactly as before"; and Mr. Brown had the late Superior's own authority for saying that it was nothing in the principles of the Oxford Mission which had led him to Rome, but that these had rather restrained him: that if he had been brought up on some other system of thought, such as Calvinism, he would have reached more easily his new position.

Henry Whitehead at this crisis joined the Mission, becoming a professed member. For nine years, from 1890 to 1899, he served as Superior in the place of Mr. Townsend. During his headship the settled lines of work developed, which may now be briefly described.

First and foremost was the life itself which the Brethren lived in the heart of the city, in closest touch and sympathy with the people round them, well known in their white cassocks in the Calcutta streets, their names on everyone's lips—for they are almost the only English-

men who live in such quarters. A sketch of the ordered life of the Mission will be given later. Here I would only refer to an incident which goes back to the early days, and shows that the life itself of the Brethren has been of more influence as a witness to the Faith than the "work" as we count "work" in the West. One, who is now doing noble service in the Church has often told me that the vision of the life of the Brethren of the Epiphany saved his own faith at the most critical period of his career. He had come to the state of doubting everything and disbelieving everything, and was ready to throw up Christianity altogether, but one thing held him fast—the vision of the devoted life of prayer led by the Oxford priests. For a time he was taken into their house, and lived with them and shared their life. He tells how Mr. Willis used to continue his prayers far into the night, and how sometimes, long after midnight, he would see his light burning; how, nevertheless, he was always the first to rise in the early hours of an early Indian day and go the round, calling in a deep bass voice to awake the sleeping Brethren. He has the most vivid recollection also of Charles Gore, as he then was, and how tenderly he dealt with his difficulties, and pointed

him to the one true answer, "He that willeth to do the will, he shall know the doctrine." Those quiet lives of prayer thus lived in the heart of Calcutta brought back his own personal conviction of the Truth, and the inspiration of those days never left him. "All that I have of faith I owe to those men!"—these are the words I have heard him say with his own lips.

The best analogy I have yet seen which may bring home the fact of the power of the life of the Brethren of the Epiphany in Calcutta is that given by Chancellor Dibdin in 1902. "The history of the Oxford Mission," he said, "has for me a fascination, because somehow, many years ago, I began and have continued to be interested in the history and growth of monasticism. And I cannot help seeing here an extraordinary counterpart, the proper counterpart in this generation, of the great Franciscan movement. The likeness is extraordinary. You may read the record of this Mission and fancy yourself back in the days of S. Francis: a few men, full of the love of GOD and of pity for their fellow-men, going out to work among the great uncared-for populations in great centres, in cities or country. And you have here what was a great feature in

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S. Francis' work,—they work in the midst of a people among whom practical infidelity exists. Europe was, in S. Francis' age, overrun with practical infidelity, and this has its counterpart in the working of the religious system in India to-day."

It would be impossible to go through the many avenues of influence which one by one were tried, and which gave place to other ventures. Slowly, very slowly, experience was built up. The two central points round which the prayer and thought of the Brethren turned more and more, and which guided them through the labyrinth of miscellaneous duties, were these :—

1. The spiritual deepening of the life of Indian Christians ;
2. Intensive personal influence with the educated classes.

Indian Christians were a primary care. The Brethren found that while there had been widespread movements and conversions in the past, yet in certain ways an ebb tide had been reached. Church life itself had become, in a measure, tainted with the ideas of "pay" and "promotion"—ideas which inevitably spread when money comes from abroad, and inferior "agents" (as they are called) are used to do high spiritual

work. Very few missions in India have escaped at one time or another in their history from this danger, and nothing less than a spiritual revolution is needed when the evil becomes deep-seated. There must be also taken into account the never-ceasing, lowering pressure of a city atmosphere filled with intellectual questionings and feeble moral standards. The young Christian students, often the sons of Indian clergy, who had come into Calcutta for the first time ; the children of catechists, sent up for the school examinations ; the children of Christian villagers, sent in for industrial training—these and many others, when they came to reside in the great city, needed to have a high spiritual ideal put before them ; otherwise they would fall. This, then, was a primary work ; and it explains the readiness of the Brethren to come to the aid of the Indian Christian students by means of boarding houses, industrial schools, and at Bishop's College, equally with their readiness to undertake the pastoral care of feeble, sinking Christian communities at Dacca and Barisal.

That this work has not been in vain may be gathered from the sight of numbers of Indian Christians who are living lives of sacrifice to-day. To take an example, one of the Brethren



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writes from Barisal in 1904: "There are many more signs that the true Christian life is growing, and with it the desire to do work for CHRIST, and not merely for earthly gain. One touching proof of this was given by a Christian boy who was employed as cook for the school. One day he came to the priest, and said he would rather not receive any salary for his work in future—intending to do it for the love of GOD." The same spirit is shown in those who come forward for Holy Baptism, and are accepted. "About eight years ago," so the Report runs, "there came to our hostel in Calcutta a bright young boy of about fourteen. With unusual precocity he had passed the entrance examination of Calcutta University, and though our hostel was then full, he looked so promising, we managed somehow to take him in. He went on, and about four or five years ago he was baptized. The difficulty which every student has to face, the sacrifice of being entirely cut off from his family, was all the keener because he was a Brahman of a very high family. But he faced that and became a Christian. With his ability and education there would have been many posts open to him in Calcutta in which he could have

secured a good settled income, but about a year after his baptism he made the further sacrifice of throwing in his lot with us at Barisal; and whereas the village boys who come to us have their heads filled with thoughts of being made gentlemen, this young man, who has come down from a higher rank, infinitely their superior in birth and position, adopts their dress and eats their food, and does not take a penny of salary for helping us in our work there." The Report goes on to say that while there are large numbers of Christians leading good, easy-going, respectable Christian lives, yet it is by the stamp of men such as that described that India will eventually be won for CHRIST.

It is interesting to note how the building up of the spiritual life of individuals assumes larger and larger proportions in the plans and developments of the Oxford Mission, and also how the work, in every direction except one, becomes more and more intensive and inward. Lectures, bazaar preaching, clubs, reading-rooms, are given up, and the work is concentrated on its Christian side upon individual Christian lives and scattered Christian congregations; and on its student side upon hostels, where non-Christian students live,

under the personal care of the Brethren, for the whole of their student days. The picture of the dangers and temptations of University life in Calcutta has been drawn by Mr. Longridge in his *History*, and will repay a careful reading. In such an atmosphere concentration upon a few students out of the many thousands has been found the only means of effectual personal influence and the uplifting of a high moral standard.

By far the most important recent development, which took place soon after Father Brown became Superior in 1900, has been the founding of the Sisterhood of the Epiphany. The imperative necessity of this step was seen at once when work among the Christian community in the district developed. A new spiritual life was needed in the home itself of the village Indian Christians, and the homes could only effectively be reached by Sisters devoted to the work.

The beginning of the Sisterhood has been marked by losses. Sister Edith and Sister Hester were both dangerously ill in their first year, and the latter had to retire from all active work. But Sister Edith, who had been at the head of the Lady Margaret Settlement, Lambeth, rallied wonderfully, and was able to take the lead in the new

Community life. During the last five years, in every fresh station which has been opened, the Sisters have gone and settled. Two and two seems to have become now, as at the first, the normal number for each new mission venture—the steps usually taken being the building of a small house, first, for two priests; then a church, the interior of which is made as beautiful as possible; and, near at hand, a second house for the Sisters.

It is at first sight astonishing to find how the reinforcements are being drafted out from Calcutta. Yet one can see the underlying principle in every letter and report, for it is in the district round Calcutta that the unshepherded congregations are chiefly found. "Our great work, the training of Christians," is the phrase that continually meets the reader of the Mission papers. One can almost feel, as one follows the history of the Mission, or has the privilege of meeting the Brethren, that the "intensive" ideal has become a fixed principle in their spiritual outlook, and the Holy Church, "without spot or wrinkle or any such thing," a fixed hope and aspiration always before them. We hear nothing from them of large numbers pouring in to lectures and addresses:

we hear much of this or that refusal to baptize, until the conscience has been fully awakened; of the building up, stone by stone, of this or that broken, crumbling congregation; of the preparation of this or that lapsed Christian for the reception of the Blessed Sacrament, after penitence and absolution; of the personal touch at Dacca or Calcutta with this or that earnest non-Christian student, whose life is being transformed and purified by the vision of the Christian life.

On one side alone "extensive" work is being tried with remarkable success. The *Epiphany*, a weekly religious paper, which was started and circulated free of charge to students, in the earliest days of the Mission, has now reached the remarkably high weekly output of twelve thousand copies. The expense is very great, for postage has to be covered as well as printing, but the reward has been proportionate. An audience of twelve thousand, who are ready to study quietly week by week, and often year by year, the evidences of the Christian Faith, is one that opens out unimaginable avenues of influence. Correspondence in connection with the leading articles is continuous, and it is possible to put students, who have never ventured to address a missionary,

in touch with those who can speak to them face to face concerning the Faith. But perhaps an almost equal value is obtained from the letters of attack on Christianity, which are freely and fairly published in the paper along with its defence. There is scarcely an educational missionary in India who does not study this column, and gain from it a knowledge of the real objections which are in students' minds, and the way to meet them. Such a study prevents a great deal of "beating the air," and sets educational work on right lines, with clear issues to face instead of shadowy phantoms.

The vitality of the *Epiphany*, and the hold it has obtained on the educated mind of India, is due in the main to Mr. Walker, its editor-in-chief. His remarkable knowledge, sympathy, and good humour gained an early vigorous life for the paper, which has made it take root firmly. The circle now reached is even wider than that of the *Epiphany* readers themselves. For there is no Press copyright in India, and articles dealing with subjects which touch closely the educated mind are reproduced in daily and weekly Indian papers by Indian editors, and at times appreciative articles are written upon them. It is interesting

to note the change of the centre of gravity of thought in the rapidly-shifting educated world of India. At one time the burning subject will be one of speculative interest merely, at another time one of socio-religious usage such as caste; at the present time the spiritual aspects of nationalism, and its methods of propaganda, loom large upon the horizon. Each turn of subject is followed by the *Epiphany* leading articles, and the Christian interpretation is given. Thus new struggles are fought out in the realm of thought, and new victories are won for the Faith.

A brief sketch of a visit to the Oxford Mission may conclude this chapter. I arrived early on a December morning of 1906, and kept the rule of silence with the Brethren till the midday meal, after which I went visiting the Calcutta clergy with Father Brown. The children came running up in every street as we rode in and out on our bicycles. There is no Englishman in the whole of Calcutta who is so well known and loved as Padre Brown. At 6 a.m. next morning Prime was said, followed by the daily celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the Mission chapel. The chapel owes its beauty to the piety and loving thought of Henry Offley Wakeman, the Church

historian, who visited the Mission with Charles Gore at the time of the latter's second stay in 1890. Quiet was kept as usual in the house till after Sext, and then, when lunch was finished, the various outside activities began. Each day the Canonical Hours are kept by the Brethren, and the quiet restfulness of the dim chapel, with the seven lamps burning, enters into the soul. There can be no question wherein the strength of the Mission lies.

The second day after my arrival Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a late member of the British Parliament, came to Calcutta to preside over the National Congress. The request came round from the leading citizens that Cornwallis Street might be decorated in his honour, and very soon "Long live Dadabhai Naoroji" streamed out in the breeze in front of the Mission House, placed there by the students. The Oxford Mission is clearly ready to share the joys as well as the sorrows of the people. The year 1906 was an eventful one in the country: never had the spirit of nationality reached so high a pitch of enthusiasm, and the Oxford Mission was among the first to welcome what was noble in the new spirit.

Christmas Day came, my first Christmas in

Bengal. I shall not soon forget that Christmas Eucharist in the Bengali church, which is one of the most indigenous developments I have seen in India. A Bengali priest, a Canon of the Church, celebrated, with a second Bengali priest to assist. The church was crowded from end to end with reverent worshippers, the little children joining, side by side with their parents, in the glorious Thanksgiving. The Bengali women were on one side in their beautiful *saris*, or veils, the men on the other with their bright-coloured Bengali shawls thrown over their shoulders. The service was choral and in unison, the whole congregation joining with one voice; the setting was a mingling of Bengali music with Gregorian. I could not follow a single word of the language, but was at home in a moment in spirit with that throng of worshippers, and my whole heart went out as I spoke to them in English a few words of Christmas love and greeting, after the Bengali sermon was over. I was a stranger, a foreigner, yet at the end of the service they thronged round me as though I were one of their own people, and I saw family group greeting family group in their own national way with tender affection and simple emotion—priests and congregation of one heart

and soul together. The whole work for twenty years has been built up by Bengalis themselves, and it bears rich promise for the future of the Christian Faith in Bengal.

I went on to the largest parish church in Calcutta, where English and Eurasian were uniting in their choral Christmas Eucharist. Here the ritual is far more elaborate than at the Bengali service, and includes the full use of incense and lights. This would seem to be a legitimate extension of the outer forms of worship, for the Eurasians are singularly like the dwellers in Southern Europe on certain sides of their character, and the Roman Church has made very many converts from among them, chiefly owing to her ornate ritual. I must not fail to mention one of the noblest chaplains working among the Eurasians, whose church I also visited, Canon Jackson, a name to conjure with in Calcutta.

Morning by morning during my short stay with the Oxford Brethren I was privileged to join in the Holy Eucharist that was offered in that quiet chapel, and to see the work of the day begun, continued, and ended in prayer. At one time Wilson would be having an afternoon Christmas party with little Bengali children, the

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students helping him to entertain them, at another, King would be holding an earnest conversation with an intellectual inquirer; at another, Holmes would come in tired out with a round of visits to the English residents, visits which bind the links of sympathy closer between West and East; at another, the Superior would accompany me as a visitor to the National Congress, which was being held in the city. My last memory is of a gathering of clergy, chaplains and missionaries, Indian and English, under the auspices of the Central Society of Sacred Study, whose work and influence has spread to India and is helping us to face our Indian theological problems.

The night came, all too soon, when I had to depart, and the Superior would insist on seeing me comfortably settled in the train. The express was crowded, but every one knew Father Brown, from the station master to the luggage coolie, and soon I had my bedding laid out on an empty seat and was started on the thousand miles journey back to Delhi, with a very warm place in my heart for Calcutta and its people, whom I had seen through the kindly eyes of the Oxford Mission.

CHAPTER VI

ALLAHABAD, CAWNPORE, AND DELHI

ALLAHABAD, the Prayag of ancient Indian history, situated at the meeting-point of the waters of the Jumna and the Ganges, is second only to Benares itself as a sacred place of Hindu pilgrimage. At the "Kumbh mela," a religious bathing festival which took place early in 1906, it is estimated that 3,000,000 pilgrims assembled to bathe at the point of land where the two rivers meet. The *sadhus*, or ascetics, alone numbered 100,000. The scene was one which could never be forgotten, and revealed the latent strength of popular Hinduism as yet almost unaffected either by modern education or by the Christian message. There were the fakirs, so well known in pictures, sitting on their beds of spikes, raising their hands to heaven till their arms stiffened, going through various forms of self-inflicted torture. There was the marvelling multitude, watching, gazing, ador-

ing—thousands upon thousands of devotees, so patient, so orderly, so eager, with one sole desire in coming, namely, to enter the sacred waters at this most sacred spot at the propitious moment predicted by the Brahmans, and in this way to obtain salvation.

Side by side with this India which draws its inspiration from the mediaeval past, an entirely new civilization is springing up with modern ideals. Allahabad is now the seat of Government with magnificent law courts and departmental offices and "civil lines." Here, too, is the University of Middle India, with imposing colleges and spacious lecture-halls. The Church has also made Allahabad the cathedral city of the Diocese of Lucknow, and the cathedral is the most beautiful in India.

It will only be possible to turn to one of the many ventures of faith which the Church is making in this city—the building of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel. The Churchmen within the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement in England had been stirred to undertake new work among the students of India, and were led to choose Allahabad for their centre. At first the new venture was "extensive" in character, and

took something of the form of a settlement in London. Games, reading-rooms, lectures, etc., were organized, at which any student of the University who pleased might present himself, and come into friendly intercourse with the young missionaries. But the experience of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta repeated itself, and the efforts soon became concentrated on a hostel, where the closest personal touch with a limited number of undergraduates could be obtained.

In Allahabad the dearth of boarding accommodation in the University has been nothing like so great as in Calcutta, and twice over in its short career a boycott of the Oxford and Cambridge missionaries has been carried on by Hindus, which seemed likely to prove fatal to the work. The more recent boycott must be described in the Warden's own words. It gives the most vivid picture of the new forces which have to be met and conquered in missionary work :—

“ In August last year (1905), political feeling was running very high. Indian opinion had been greatly excited about the partition of Bengal, and was manifesting itself in the organized boycott of everything English. About the same time we

had a lecture from an educated Brahman convert, a retired judge, on 'A Brahman convert's reasons for becoming a Christian.' The lecture, while gentle in tone, was a crushing exposure of the case for Hinduism. At the time there were in the hostel some six or seven men who were on the verge of conversion. Hostellers have since told me that they quite expected to see some become Christians. The lecture showed the men who were nearest to Christianity exactly where they were going, and made them draw back. Others, realizing the danger of the conversion for some of their fellow-students, got up an agitation against Bible-reading on the score that it was disloyal to their own religion and unpatriotic. Boycott was in the air, and they induced all the hostellers but two to sign an undertaking not to read the Bible with us. The two abstainers were not themselves reading. At the time twenty-four out of thirty-six men in the hostel were reading with us. So in a couple of days the whole of our direct work was brought to a full stop. This was a sore trial to our faith. The ringleaders were the very two men who had been nearest decision, men of real gifts of leadership, who, if won, would be a power for CHRIST in India.

The religious boycott was succeeded by a most determined effort to break down discipline and authority. The whole of this was aggravated by intensely bitter racial feeling. Our relations with the men, hitherto most warm, became sorely strained. We realized that our strength was to sit still: "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." Meantime many were supporting us by prayer. By degrees, faith and love, and patience, wore down opposition . . . the ring-leader came to me to ask my forgiveness for what he had done. Poor fellow! he broke down altogether, and had to leave my room unable to say a word. He was the first to begin reading again. . . . Now it is over we are glad to have been through the time. It has been a severe testing, and now we have more men than ever reading with us. Over thirty out of the fifty men in the hostel have personal interviews with us week by week for Bible-reading. . . . I do not know if any other missionary work gives the direct opportunities that we have, closeted for hours every day over the Bible with educated men, upon whom no pressure is brought of any kind from our side, but who live with us, and want, of their own free will, to understand the Christian Faith .

Whether such abundant opportunities shall end in conversions or not, depends chiefly on your prayers."

It is a great joy to be able to add that one of the leading students mentioned above has now been baptized with all his family.

My own most recent experience of Allahabad was a visit to conduct a "Quiet Day" for the C.M.S. clergy of the diocese at the time of a conference of unique importance. For many years, both in the Panjab and in the United Provinces, the foreign missionaries have been feeling more and more keenly the need of developing indigenous Church life under indigenous leadership. Little by little the lines are being laid down, and though at present the efforts made for self-government are weak and feeble, and the spirit of Indian leadership has yet to be evoked, still there is some progress.

The conference on this occasion had met to consider principles, and it will be of interest in England to note those which were regarded as of primary importance at that time. The first was the principle of race equality, the abolition of all race distinction between Indian and European within the Church. The second was the principle

that evangelistic work belonged to Indian and English clergy alike, a fatal distinction having arisen by which Indian clergy were regarded only as pastors, not evangelists. The third principle recognized that workers and funds should be controlled by the body that supplied them. On this there was a difference of opinion, as it placed the English missionary outside the control of the Indian Church Council, and appeared to contradict equality of race within the Church. A fourth principle insisted that the withdrawal of the English missionary should be contemplated in all Church organization, he being regarded as a temporary loan to the Indian Church, not an essential part.

The Warden of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, with whom I stayed in Allahabad, came on to Cawnpore later to conduct our united Brotherhood Retreat. Such interchange of retreatants is one of the happiest results of the cordial relations between the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the North of India. No two Societies could possibly work more harmoniously together. The only pity is that their organizations out in the field are not completely amalgamated.

gamated, so that the Church should be, outwardly as well as inwardly, One Body.

The Retreat itself, which takes place in October each year, is a time never to be forgotten for its help and strengthening of missionary vocation. It is also a time of a silent communion of spirit with spirit in the one work, making the life of the One Body a supreme reality. We have now a further bond of union between the Brotherhoods in North India and Burma in the common Office Book of Intercessions which we use daily.

The city of Cawnpore, some four hours' journey from Allahabad, is becoming one of the great manufacturing and railway centres of Modern India. Its population, in spite of terrible devastation by plague, is increasing, and new mills are being opened. The work of the Church has steadily progressed, and is now spreading to the district round.

The S.P.G. Mission owes its present strong position to the sons of Bishop Westcott. Foss Westcott, during his time in the Brotherhood, made the industrial side of the Mission justly famous. He was chosen to serve on the Government Industrial Commission, and rendered most valuable service. It was deeply interesting to go

over the workshops and see English working-men doing a noble missionary work in training Indian Christian boys to labour with their hands. If this narrative meets the eyes of working-men in England who are missionary-hearted, I would assure them that there is work in the mission-field for them, equal to many an ordained missionary's labours.

I went round the city with one of the Brotherhood. He was enthusiastic about the influence of the Westcotts in the city, and told me how in the Plague Riots of 1900 it was they who had saved the situation and prevented bloodshed. I saw the admirable Zenana Hospital, where the doctors and nurses laboured through the terrible times of plague, and where Indian and English Christian workers had sacrificed their lives in ministering to plague and cholera patients. Then we went on to the river, where crowds of beggars and evil-looking *sadhus* clamoured for alms at the bathing ghat, and the idols near were strewn with dead and dying marigolds offered by the bathers. When I came back, George Westcott, who is the Principal of the Mission College and a member of the Syndicate of the University, was ready to talk over the prospects of Christian

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education, and to discuss the position recently advocated by the Bishop of Madras. It was cheering to witness his strong optimism as to the future effects of the present educational efforts. He also showed me the proofs of a book on the Kabir Sect, the materials for which he had collected with patient labour, and told me some of the sayings of Kabir, who has been called "the Indian Luther of the fifteenth century." At table I met two Indian Christians, who share the Brotherhood life, and are engaged in important literary work. The whole impression of the Mission has been to me that of men and women who are trying to grapple with the varied problems of modern India, and to meet them not on one side only but on many sides, dealing not with one class only but with all classes, from the Englishman of the "civil-lines" and the higher Indian families of the city, to the poor and outcast of the slums and alleys.

Space will not allow me to tell the story of our own Brotherhood at Delhi, and a history will appear before this brief sketch is published; but I would endeavour instead to make some slight amends at this point for a serious deficiency in the present narrative, by referring to the Zenana

missionary work that is going on in Cawnpore and Delhi and almost every city in India. I cannot speak of it in detail, for the Zenana work has a sphere of its own, and it is almost impossible for men to know much about it; but the value of the work is incalculable, for without it little influence can be brought to bear upon the home, where the centre of the struggle towards a higher faith must finally lie. The work is much more difficult than our own. The women of India are almost entirely illiterate, and have been so for many centuries, with the result that superstitions, bred of ignorance, have become a second nature. There are few opportunities at present in the North for large schools for non-Christian girls. The work of education must go on slowly from house to house, amid a thousand interruptions and distractions. But there, in the house, is the stronghold which must be penetrated. It is the women who really believe in the old superstitions; it is the women who really keep up the Hindu priesthood and the idolatrous ceremonies: it is the women who really keep back their husbands and sons when they wish to come out into the light.

A very large proportion of our Christian

families in North India come originally from a low social grade, in which they received little moral training during their pre-Christian days. The home life in the past has been degraded by centuries of neglect, and has to be built up again from the very foundations. This is clearly a primary office of the Indian Church, if she is to grow spiritually strong in all her members and become "a joyful mother of children." Here perhaps, among our own poor Christians, lies the highest sphere of usefulness of our lady missionary workers. Without their help the mothers and daughters in the homes cannot effectively be reached. There is also the vital need of schools for the Christian girls as well as for the boys, and for institutions, where those who are orphans and waifs and strays in the sea of Indian life may find a refuge. S. Mary's Home at Delhi is one of the most beautiful examples of this principle carried out in practice. There are convalescents there, and lame little children, widows and orphans and homeless, all living together a happy family life, with their own chapel and a school near at hand, under the care of a devoted mission-worker. Two years ago I brought down from Rawal Pindi to the Home

three children whose mother had just died, and who had been left destitute in an atmosphere of terrible temptation. The little baby sister only lived a few months, but the two elder children are as happy as the day is long in the Home, and one of them is now confirmed.

But the side of women's work in India, which carries with it the appeal of untold suffering and misery, is the Zenana hospital work. In the very heart of the city, in crowded streets, and an atmosphere often like a furnace, the ministry of healing is carried on, and the homes of rich and poor alike in every quarter are visited. Here is a single sketch written by one of our Delhi doctors :—

"Miss Sahiba Ji, please take a sweet!—and Dora, not at all subdued by the heat, holds up an empty 'Brand's essence' tin with a twinkle of fun in her eye: Dora first then—she always does come first somehow—among the little band of children in the hospital, the leader in any mischief, the pet and 'sweetheart' as she calls herself of all. Three years since her mother brought her, then a year-old neglected baby, from a distant village. She had heard that the Mission, perhaps, might take care of the child. The mother

was determined to get rid of the baby at all costs. 'If you do not take her I will just put her down in the dusk of the evening and walk off.' On suggesting that the police would be put on her track for child desertion, she declared, 'Well, in any case, the bottom of a well will tell no tales!' At last the wee girlie was taken over, and she has become a hospital baby. She is now growing up, and has quite made up her mind to 'be a doctor' when she is a woman, and she is already an adept at rolling bandages. But her chief delight is to 'conduct prayers.' Seated herself in the Miss Sahiba's seat, the other children in the hospital are arranged round to represent the nurses, while Dora leads the singing and instructs them in her own peculiar fashion. The little boy, Chattu, her companion, is almost entirely blind. His mother arrived with him in the famine year, and almost expired on the hospital doorstep, and only survived two days. He has just begun to read the Braille type, and having a fair ear for music makes a cheerful noise with hymns and *bhajans* in the wards. They will go soon to S. Mary's Home, but the hospital will be very dull when they are gone."

Miss Tara Chand, the daughter of one of the

most revered high-caste converts, who is still working on in his old age as mission priest at Ajmere, was admitted as an Indian member of the S. Stephen's Community, Delhi, and was deeply loved and respected by Indian and English alike. Frail and delicate from the first, her health soon gave way, and after some months of patient suffering she passed to her rest. It is greatly to be hoped that other Indian ladies will be found to fill her place, and make the Community more what it aspires to be, a living branch of the Indian Church itself rather than a helper from outside.

In addition to Zenana workers in the different cities, there is now at every cathedral centre in the North of India a growing body of deaconesses ordained by the Bishop for work among the European and Eurasian community. "We act," writes the Deaconess Alice at Lahore, "as sacristans, having in our charge the care of the sanctuary, and are present at the daily services; we get into touch with all members of our scattered congregations, and try to teach them that they are not isolated units but members of a divine society, with responsibilities and duties to each other and to the Church. We find

Eurasian Christians living in the bazaar in a way that makes it difficult to distinguish Christian from heathen. There are poor and destitute women to be cared for, and orphan children to be nurtured. There are schools for European and Eurasian children to be staffed with teachers. We come across many terribly sad stories of ruined Christian lives. We hope to have a 'preventive Home, as in Bombay; and the Giris' Friendly Society and Mothers' Union render invaluable aid."

The Order of Deaconesses is being slowly but steadily recruited from the ranks of Indian Christian ladies. One such Indian lady, Deaconess Ellen Goreh, has already been mentioned. Her beautiful hymn, "In the secret of His Presence" is rapidly taking its place among the best known in the English language. It shows what depths of tenderness and devotion to our Blessed LORD may be looked for in the future from the Indian Church, when the sacred ministry of Indian women goes to fill up the measure of the human heart's affection to the Saviour of the world.

I would conclude with a picture taken from one of the poor congregations of Indian Christians in Delhi, where our ladies labour so

devotedly, and where lies in many ways the happiest part of their work. The women are seated on the ground on one side of the church, with the Miss Sahiba among them, the men on the other; the babies are rolling about, and the little children pass from one side to the other at their own sweet will. The service is over, but to-night the congregation is proud in the possession of musical instruments, three drums and a pair of cymbals; and the women ask the Miss Sahiba, and the men implore the Padre Sahib, for just one more *bhajan*, and then children and all join in singing together *Jai Prabhu Yesu*.

PRELUDE AND REFRAIN

"JESU CHRIST, be Thou my security,
Thou my security, JESU CHRIST.

I

All the sinners that come to JESUS,
He will cleanse them from guilt and impurity.

2

Deep the river, and frail the vessel,
Waft me safe to the shore of futurity.

3

GOD of orphans, and Friend of the friendless,
Shine in homes of gloom and obscurity.

JESU, shelter me under Thy shadow,
Grant me pardon and peace, LORD, and purity.

JESU CHRIST, be Thou my security,
Thou my security, JESU CHRIST."¹

Those in England who know how deep is the river and how frail is the vessel of life, can help us more than they can understand by their intercessions to bring the light of the One "Friend of the friendless" into the many homes of gloom and obscurity in India..

¹ The translation is by the Rev. C. Foxley.

CHAPTER VII

THE PANJAB AND ISLAM

TWO names stand out clearly in the Panjab, one Indian and one English, each remarkable for learning and Oriental scholarship, and also for a life of ascetic devotion in the service of GOD—Dr. Imad ud Din and Dr. French. The former was a descendant of the royal house of Persia, and could count back his direct ancestors by name for more than thirty generations. His life reveals that seeking after GOD and that intense earnestness of longing for the true light which is found among choice souls in Islam and Hinduism in India. His name is linked more than once with that of Nehemiah Goreh and with Dr. French, and there are certain unmistakable features of resemblance, amid differences of race and early creed.

Imad ud Din ("Pillar of the Faith") began in his very boyhood to have an inextinguishable passion to find GOD, which would not let him

rest. He would wait upon ascetics in hope of finding the secret of salvation and union with the Divine. As he grew to manhood, his friend Maulvi Safdar Ali became his instructor, and night and day he studied the Quran and Musulman traditions under his guidance. There came to him from this study only utter vagueness and disgust, and he turned elsewhere to find some new help in his religion. At this point he began to read the Sufi mystical writings, and to practise their silent meditations. At times he would go for weeks together and sit near the tombs of the saints, hoping in vain for some mysterious revelation, enduring agonies of hunger and watching night after night in his cagerness to obtain a vision, but only finding vanity and vexation of spirit. At this time a verse of the Quran, which declared that every mortal must once visit hell, became a torture to him, and at last he renounced the world altogether and became a wandering fakir. One mystical Sufi rite required a twelve days' fast and twelve sleepless nights of meditation on the Name of GOD. He sat alone by a river side, and went through the ritual step by step unsparingly. "When the ceremony was over," he writes, "I

had no strength, I could not even hold myself up against the breeze. The people in the city near regarded me as one of the saints of GOD, and came to touch my knees, but my soul found no rest." He then began to leave off the Musulman routine of prayer, and looked upon all religions as vanity, but whenever the thought of death came upon him his restlessness of soul was terrible, and he would cry to GOD for deliverance.

Some years later he heard of the conversion, through the instrumentality of Nehemiah Goreh, of his old friend Maulvi Safdar Ali, and he was confounded and perplexed. He determined to bring him back from Christianity, and for this purpose read for the first time the Gospel story. The Sermon on the Mount held and fascinated him. He could not break away from its influence: it seemed speaking to his very soul. For days and nights in great agitation he continued reading until he became wholly convinced that salvation from sin was through JESUS CHRIST alone, and that He was the only perfect moral Teacher. He went to Amritsar and was baptized, and began at once a life of patient, earnest, scholarly work in defence of the Christian Faith.



DR. IMAD UD DIN.

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The fierceness of the opposition he encountered, and his own courageous spirit, may be judged from his answer to a Chitral chieftain who had threatened to kill him with his own hands. "Tell the chieftain," he replied, "that if he were to kill me, I would gladly perish, and from my spilt blood twenty Imad ud Dins (Pillars of Faith) would arise to carry forward the Christian religion."

Once in later life he met Nehemiah Goreh, to whom he indirectly owed his conversion. The marks of suffering and search for truth were on both their faces, and they spoke far into the night about the glorious Faith they had embraced. They found (so Padre Nehemiah relates) their Church views fundamentally the same, though the Maulvi remained, in the outward expression of religion, more puritan to the end than the ex-Brahman Pandit.

As we read Dr. Imad ud Din's controversial and apologetic writings to-day we feel we are in the presence of one who has escaped "as a brand from the burning," and who must cut himself free once and for all from a bitter past. They are the writings of a by-gone period when men dealt and received blows unsparingly, and

saw everything in light and shade without the medium of neutral tones and softening lines. Yet, reviewed historically, they are a great work, and his renown is well deserved. Perhaps the most lasting of his achievements was a translation of the Quran itself into Urdu.

The name of French is linked by many spiritual ties with that of Imad ud Din. French's ascetic life and apostolic fervour appealed to the Maulvi ascetic, whose own life had been so filled with suffering and trial. The most vivid portrait of French comes from the Maulvi's own pen. Dr. Imad ud Din relates how he could remember him in Agra as a bright, ardent young missionary whom he used to see passing up and down the street, trying to converse with little children and tell them the Gospel story as he walked to bazaar preaching—very impetuous and quick in his manner, but with a spiritual look in his eyes that seemed watching a distant scene.

Seldom in modern missionary history has there been shown such untiring and devoted zeal, combined with so clear a prophet's vision of the future, as is seen in the Life of French. On one side he seemed pedantic, wrapped up in book-learning and theory, almost hopeless in business

matters; but on another side he was no visionary or dreamer, rather he was one who threw the whole force of a commanding personality and a triumphant faith into his plans, and actually carried them through or saw them in the way of accomplishment.

Dr. French's career is one series of breakdowns in health and new beginnings. As Mr. Eugene Stock has pointed out, from first to last he was a pioneer and founder. In Agra he founded the first great Christian college in the North, and was the pioneer of Christian education in those regions. In 1862 he came back to India to found the Frontier Mission in the Derajat, which has led to a settled policy of missionary outlook towards Central Asia. In 1869 he came to Lahore to found the S. John's Divinity School, which was the first inspiring attempt in the North to train a body of Indian fellow-workers in the ministry of the Gospel—men who might some day pass beyond the mountain barriers into Thibet, Afghanistan, and Persia, and even into Arabia itself. In 1877 he was a "pioneer and founder" once more, as first Bishop of Lahore, setting an example of a missionary episcopate which will be an ideal for many generations.

Ten years later he had completed his great cathedral in the capital of the Panjab, where Indian and English alike were to join together as one body and worship side by side in the beauty of holiness—a pioneer work which is a prophecy of the future unity of the Indian Church, when racial divisions have been obliterated. Last of all he resigned his bishopric, and went back as a simple missionary to labour for a few months and then lay down his life in Mohammedan lands, pointing the way as a pioneer to their conquest from the Panjab. Not one of his great prophetic visions has altogether failed: they have only grown clearer with the lapse of time, and some of them are being worked out to-day.

There is a beautiful story told by Dr. Imad ud Din of his own last days with the Bishop. Dr. French had called him apart, just before his own last act of Ordination, for a week's retreat on the banks of the Beas River. On arriving in the evening they discovered that they had no food, and went to bed supperless. After a while, the Bishop came and said he remembered having still in his robe-case a piece of bread, which had been placed there a long time ago for use in the Blessed Sacrament, but which had never been used. They



Photo by]

[*Elliott & Fry*

BISHOP VALPY FRENCH.

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soaked it in water, gave thanks, and shared it together, and then went off to sleep. Their meditation during their retreat was on the Sufi saying, "There is a death in which there is no life, and a life in which there is no death."

But the story most dear to the Church in India is that of French's nobility of conduct in the Mutiny days at Agra. There was imminent danger of an attack in overwhelming force by the mutineers, and the English were hurried into the fort, but French remained outside. The order came for him to come in and leave the Indian Christians in the city, as food and shelter in the fort was barely sufficient for the English. But no power on earth could make French move a step through the fort gates till every Indian Christian was safe inside. Then at last he entered.

In keeping with this incident were his words spoken at the consecration of Lahore Cathedral, where he claimed that for all time Indians should have a principal place in GOD'S House, and should regard it always as their own cathedral. "I plead with you," he said, "with all entreaty, if ever—long after my grey hairs are gone down to the grave—unbrotherly exclusion be practised here, to call to your and to your children's re-

membrance this solemn appeal. Let this church be a mother-church indeed, with all the tenderness and depths of sympathy, the loving place in the arms and heart and home of the true mother: not the chill, distant, jealous regard of the typical stepmother. Let no invidious exclusiveness of race or station find place in this sanctuary." Dr. Imad ud Din preached in the cathedral on the day of its consecration, and was one of the Bishop's most trusted counsellors and chaplains.

Henry Martyn and French were very near to one another in their missionary outlook; and it is of deep significance to note that both the young evangelist and the aged Bishop, after spending their strength in India, passed into the Mohammedan lands to fulfil their last life-work and die. The Mohammedan Missions in India do not end with India itself. The field is open, the soil is prepared in India, not for India's sake alone, but in order that from that post of vantage the central, ancient seats of Islam may be reached and won for CHRIST.

One who realized this, and shared the fate of French and Martyn, dying in a foreign land beyond the Indian boundary, was George Maxwell

Gordon, who has been called the pilgrim missionary. Coming of a wealthy family he literally gave up all for CHRIST, living for the greater part of his all too short life like a Christian fakir, dressing in Indian dress and eating only the simplest, coarsest Indian food. He shared, with Henry Martyn and Bishop French, the inextinguishable longing to press forward and carry the banner of the Cross beyond the frontier, into Persia, Arabia, and Afghanistan. With this outlook ever before him he threw himself into the work of training Indian fellow-workers to "endure hardness" and "do the work of an evangelist." He took the younger men from the Lahore Divinity School with him out into the district, and showed them by example how to surmount difficulties and live the life of faith and prayer. More than once he made his way on his camel across the mountains and interviewed the Baluchi chieftains. There were strict orders against proceeding further into Afghanistan itself, and Gordon waited, longing for an opportunity of crossing the border. Meanwhile he founded, chiefly with his own private income, a base for further operations at Dera Ghazi Khan, and worked forward from that centre.

At last the looked-for opportunity arrived. A British force was ordered to advance on Kandahar, and Gordon was accepted as honorary chaplain. He reached Afghanistan, and had opportunities of witnessing for CHRIST during his short stay with the troops. In 1880 he went out again, accompanied by Bishop French. French was obliged to return to India, but Gordon stayed on while the British garrison was besieged. In an unsuccessful sortie some wounded men were left outside the wall in imminent danger. Gordon at once obtained some Indian bearers, and went out to bring them in. The Afghan fire was so hot that an officer who was with Gordon advised retiring. But the brave missionary persisted, and just as he reached the spot where the wounded lay he was himself shot down and succumbed in a few hours. Thus he died pointing the way forward.

Henry Martyn lies buried in Tokat, Gordon in Kandahar, Bishop French at Muscat. Slowly the way is being prepared and laid with the graves of saintly men who have passed on from India.
Vexilla Regis prodeunt.

All that has been written above has dealt with the Old Islam, either of the orthodox or of the

Sufi type—the Islam of the old Arabic learning and the old Persian mysticism ; but in India to-day we are face to face with an entirely new development of the faith of the Prophet, which eagerly embraces modern science and modern social ideals, and aims at the highest Western culture, combined with a simplified creed and doctrine.

I have visited many times the city of Aligarh, the centre of this New Islam, and have been much impressed by the silent changes which are taking place in Islamic thought and practice. The college contains nearly four hundred students, and the school another six hundred. The definite aim of the present College Council is to establish a system of education exactly similar to that given in the best public schools in England. The whole institution, down to the debating society and college cricket club, is on the model of the West. The students, who come from the highest Mohammedan families, and from places as distant as Zanzibar and Java, become for the most part frankly liberal and modern in their religious views, and when their college days are over they are often poles apart from the Mohammedans of the older type. I sat down after a cricket match to afternoon tea

in an undergraduate's rooms in Aligarh, and could almost have imagined myself back in Cambridge. The talk, the manner, the very furniture and pictures were Western. The staff itself is also predominantly from the West—even the Professor of Arabic is a European. I met three or four old University acquaintances who do all their work in English, and are there for the purpose of teaching English manners and customs. There is a large mosque, attendance at which is parallel to college chapels. The more thoughtful and progressive of the college students with whom I talked were in sympathy with the "New Islam," though one who interested me most remained a strictly orthodox Mussulman.

A recent writer on Pan-Islam, in a leading Indian review, ends a long and extremely interesting article as follows:—"There is already harmony in belief existing between the Jews and Mussulmans. Between a Unitarian Christian and a Mussulman there is still less difference. So these three world religions can be united without much difficulty." Briefly stated, the new Islam seeks to establish that Mohammedanism is simple, non-miraculous, and undogmatic, and that it contains only one fundamental article of belief, namely,

the unity of GOD as declared by Mohammed. It attacks Christianity as irrational, unscientific, and dogmatic, and proclaims its own freedom from dogma and superstition. It is willing to regard the injunctions of the Prophet as to social and family relations as suited to the age when the religion appeared, and not necessarily of ultimate authority. This is very different from the spirit of the last generation, and it is little wonder that maulvis of the older type regard Aligarh with disfavour. Yet every year the great college grows in popularity, and the proposal is continually brought forward that it should be converted into a University.

Where all this will end time alone will show. The new Islam will not spread very rapidly in India, as education is most backward in the Mohammedan community as a whole. In our own Delhi College, for instance, at one of the greatest Mohammedan centres, the old capital of the Moghul empire, our Christian students already outnumber the Mussulman. The education of Mohammedan girls is at a standstill, while over seventy per cent. of our Christian girls can read and write. Yet even with so small a percentage of education, bigotry is dying

down, and the new Islam is spreading. I have heard the latest modern textual criticism quoted against the Christian Faith in the Bickersteth Hall at Delhi, and the attack highly approved by maulvis of the old school, who little realize that such criticism applied rigidly to Islam would undermine their own position.

The whole atmosphere in the large cities of the Panjab is changed from the famous time when the present Bishop of Lahore, Dr. Lefroy, used to withstand abuse and clamour and could hardly get a hearing. The hard dogmatism of Islam is departing, and there seems little positive religion to take its place among the younger generation. I would repeat, the movement will not spread very rapidly, and the old type of Mohammedan controversy, such as Dr. Imad ud Din's books represent, has still its part to play in India; but it is time that the new Mohammedan theories were met, and a clear and candid apologetic of Christianity were written on modern lines. In this high missionary work scholars at home could render invaluable service.

Islam has a great contribution to make to the Christian Church. No one who has met the high type of Mohammedan gentlemen who have been brought up in the best Mohammedan traditions,

can have failed to be struck by their nobility of character and natural dignity. Two of my greatest friends in Delhi are Mohammedans of the old scholarly type. They have shown me, a Christian missionary, every kindness and courtesy, and have given me their confidence and friendship. They have given me, what is more, a new idea of the power of Islam at its best in moulding character and creating an atmosphere of reverence. The great strength in life which comes from an ordered day and month and year in which GOD is ever remembered, and His worship is a first and foremost duty—that *godliness* which we are in danger of neglecting amid the rush and hurry of the West—is a very great and real treasure which we need to regain within the Church.

CHAPTER VIII

AMRITSAR AND THE SIKHS

AMRITSAR, with its "pool of immortality" and "golden temple," has been for many generations past the centre of the Sikh religion. This religious movement, which attempted a purification of Hinduism from within by discarding idolatry and obeying a noble code of precepts left by its founder Guru Nanak, is still one of the strongest purifying forces in the North, though it is not advancing numerically. The old beautiful spirit of the early gurus (religious teachers) still lingers, and the passion for union with the divine is not unfrequently met with. The high breeding and chivalry of a military race has left its mark, and there is an air of nobility and distinction among the Sikhs which is unmistakable.

There is a story told by Kharak Singh in his own words which may present in a vivid form what type of men the Sikhs are, and what a treasure of fervour and devotion they may bring

within the Church of CHRIST. "My grandfather," he relates, "was one of the chieftains who helped to raid Delhi. At one time an elephant, maddened with drink, with a naked sword tied to its trunk, was sent by the enemy into the Sikh camp. My grandfather attacked the infuriated beast, and cut off its trunk, and gained the name 'Ganesh Mar,' elephant slayer. All my family have been soldiers for many generations."

"When I was a boy I determined to go and seek after GOD. I ran away from home, but after two years' wandering my father brought me back and forcibly married me to a wife, who was then a child of seven. But I ran away again, and began to practise yoga (asceticism). I practised stopping my breath: it took me three years to learn how to do this properly, but I became so weak that if I sat down I could not rise, and I often fainted. I had one helper with me, a boy sadhu, who also practised yoga. But I found no nearness to GOD. I then went on to Benares, and the longing for salvation became so intense that I practised night and day. I believed at this time in the sacredness of the Ganges. I followed Hindu ascetics, and ceased to read the Sikh Scriptures. Twice

over I tried to drown myself in the Ganges, hoping in that way to obtain salvation, but something prevented. I sometimes saw the Christian padres in the bazaar, but I despised them as stupid foreigners. I then wandered to Kashmir, still restless and unsatisfied, and became the disciple of Harjas. The Maharajah used to come to him night after night and worship him, and wash his feet and drink part of the water, and ask him questions: 'What is the soul?' 'Where am I going to?' 'What will happen after death?'

"When the Mutiny broke out I enlisted, and brought a hundred men from the hills to fight against the mutineers. Two medals were given me, one for saving an officer's life. My commanding officer used to let me off parades in order that I might go on with my search for GOD. I met with many Europeans during this time, but none of them spoke to me about religion. The first person from whom I heard of CHRIST was the Rev. Nehemiah Nilakantha Goreh. When I heard him, the spirit of opposition was stirred up in me, and I purchased a New Testament in the bazaar for eightpence. As I read through S. Matthew's Gospel, there

was one verse that exactly suited my case. It was, 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest: for My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.' I went now to Mr. Clark, of Amritsar, and yielded myself to the teaching of CHRIST. I was baptized when I was fifty-two years old, and Mrs. Elmslie was my godmother. But my heart was not yet settled, and I did not truly understand the divinity of CHRIST. I looked upon Him rather as a great Guru.

"It was at this time I met again Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj. I had met him before, when he and I were both fakirs. He told me I had mistaken the meaning of the Vedas, and bade me practise yoga once more in order to attain salvation. For a time I followed him, and became an Arya, and the Christians left me. I continued secretly to read the Bible, and at nights, when the day was over, I was continually full of sorrow and distress and restlessness of spirit. One night, when I was in great agony of mind, I happened to be reading Psalm li, and the agony of repentance for my sins became very great indeed. Then suddenly I thought I heard the words spoken out loud to

me, 'Believe on Him Whom I have sent.' The words were so clear, just as if some one quite near was speaking to me. All at once I was filled with joy and peace. It was about two o'clock in the morning. I was so overjoyed that I ran into the inner chamber to tell my wife, and we rejoiced together."

Pandit Kharak Singh was ordained by Bishop French at his last Ordination. He continued his wandering life, undergoing innumerable hardships even in his old age, and preached the Gospel from Peshawar and Kashmir to Benares, meeting constantly with his old fakir companions and pleading with them. He was helped with food and hospitality on his journeyings by Hindus and Sikhs as well as by Christians. In his later years he came into great trouble through marrying a young wife who promised to share his wanderings and help him in his missionary tours. She proved unfaithful to him, and he deeply repented of his folly. But he never ceased, from the day of his conversion onwards, to have faith in CHRIST, and to preach His Name, enduring trials and sufferings which would have killed many a younger man. He died, at the age of seventy-eight, on February 5, 1900, one who in a most true

sense was a pioneer missionary of the Indian Church.

Robert Clark, who had the privilege of baptizing both Imad ud Din and Kharak Singh, and was perhaps the most famous missionary in the Panjab for length of service and energy of work, died in the same year, 1900. He came out in 1851, and for some time made Amritsar his headquarters. After that he went, at the imminent risk of his life, to preach with Dr. Pfander in the bazaar of Peshawar. Later still he began the new missionary work in Kashmir, where he met with difficulties and opposition from the Maharajah. Clark was a born statesman and organizer, and very soon the organization of the C.M.S. work in the whole province came into his hands. Almost every Mission in the Panjab bears his mark upon it, and he seemed to be ubiquitous and never-tiring in his fifty years of incessant labour. His mind was of the strong and somewhat narrow Evangelical type, and he had little of the refined idealism and devotion to the historic Church of Bishop French. But he was eminently practical, and an outspoken and courageous evangelist. His name is still remembered in Amritsar, Peshawar, and Lahore by Hindus,

Mohammedans, and Sikhs, and the Christian village of Clarkabad preserves his memory by its designation.

With Amritsar the name of A.L.O.E. is intimately associated. Miss Tucker (to give her real name) came out at the age of fifty-four, and spent the remaining eighteen years of her missionary life in Amritsar and Batala. Her influence among the boys in the Baring High School (a school for Indian Christian gentlemen's children) gave to many of them an ideal of refinement and chivalry which had a marked effect upon their character. She was a kind of mother to the boys, inspiring them with school patriotism by writing for them "Batala songs" and setting before them the missionary vocation. Many of the present clergy of the Panjab are old Batala students. Her life is a wonderful example of what a powerful missionary influence a highly-educated Christian lady may have in India, even though she come out late in life to a strange climate and new surroundings. With her memory in Amritsar is also associated the name of a widow lady, Mrs. Elmslie, of whom Miss Tucker wrote: "She is one of a million. Tall, fair, graceful, with a face that Ary Scheffer might

have chosen, her soul seemed to correspond to her external appearance. Saintly as she was, she was not at all gloomy : she tried to make all happy, and was business-like and practical." She was the niece of the famous hymn-writer, Dr. Horatius Bonar.

No sketch of Amritsar and the Sikhs would be complete without reference to Rowland Bateman. I have come across many non-Christians and Christians who have known and loved him, and their faces always light up as they speak about him. He lived with Indians, worked with them, and loved them with all his heart, and was never so happy as when he was dwelling in Indian style, with Indians round him and about him. Few missionaries have made such evangelistic tours as Bateman, living and sleeping in the mud huts of the villages, and sharing the simple village life wherever he went. No missionary could less be mistaken for an English sahib.

Narowal, a small town about forty miles distant from Amritsar, has been in the past the scene of a remarkable ingathering of very able, educated men from the higher castes—an ingathering which in a smaller way reproduced the scene in Calcutta in the early days of Dr. Duff.

This was due in a very great measure to the labours and influence of the Rev. Bhola Nath Ghose, who was there with Mr. Bateman. Mr. Ghose was a Bengali, with a very strong personality and ardent personal devotion to our LORD. He was one of Dr. Duff's converts. At the Baring High School, as head master, there was for very many years another of Dr. Duff's converts, Babu I. C. Singha, whose memory still to-day is revered in Batala.

At the present time in a district not far from Amritsar a movement is going on among the Sikhs called the Prem Sangat, which may lead to important results. I had the privilege of hearing Miss Bose, an Indian Christian doctor, who has been many years at work there, telling the story in Lahore, how all direct opposition among the Sikhs in many villages had passed away, and how at a large gathering of the Prem Sangat one after another of the Sikh village chiefs had stood up and declared that JESUS CHRIST was the true Guru. It is early days yet to express any confident expectation as to what may be the end, but the movement is so entirely of the people, and carried on by the people, that it stirs the heart to hear about it.

A personal reminiscence may end this short chapter. I had living near me one of the Mazhabî Sikhs (a body of Sikhs who at one time nearly became Christians), one of the most faithful and religious men I have ever seen. He had little intelligence, and belonged to the lowest servant class called "sweepers," but was the very soul of piety. At one time I found him harbouring a little English boy who had run away and was terribly frightened and hungry. His devotion to animals was extraordinary. They were his daily friends and companions, and he had a wonderful tenderness with them. Every morning, long before sunrise, he would be seated outside his hut chanting his prayers, sometimes snatches of a Christian hymn appearing in the midst of his Sikh devotions. He said one day, "Sahib, the dogs begin to bark very early in the morning, and the birds to sing before I start to say my own prayers; they are praying and singing to GOD just as we do ourselves."

CHAPTER IX

THE FRONTIER MISSIONS

PERHAPS there is nowhere to be found in the modern mission-field a nobler pioneer work undertaken by laymen, than that of the opening up of the North Panjab to missionary influences in the middle of the nineteenth century. Before even the country was settled, while still fanaticism was ready to blaze forth at any moment, invitations came in from civil and military leaders, who were devoted Christians, to "enter in and possess the land" for CHRIST. Even beyond their power they offered willingly for the carrying on of the work, and more than one became himself a missionary.

In 1849, the Government of the Panjab was in the hands of the famous triumvirate, Henry and John Lawrence, and Robert Montgomery. With them were associated a body of earnest younger men: Cust and Temple, Thornton and McLeod, Napier and Nicholson, Edwardes and Reynell

Taylor. These performed such brilliant achievements in righteous and sympathetic administration, that when the Mutiny came, it was from the Panjab, that the troops were mustered which saved the situation.

Without in any way interfering with the religious liberties of those under them, these civilians and officers showed themselves fearless and outspoken Christians in all their undertakings. The Mohammedans, Hindus, and Sikhs honoured them all the more for being true to their own religious convictions. They opened with their own funds Mission after Mission, and if only the Church at home had been able at the right time to give the men, the Panjab mission-field would be different to-day.

The scene at Peshawar in 1853, is typical of those wonderful days of Christian lay enthusiasm. Edwardes arrived as the new Commissioner, Colonel Mackeson his predecessor having just been murdered. Major Martin called immediately after his arrival, and asked for leave to establish a Christian Mission. "Certainly," was Edwardes' reply, "summon a meeting, and I will preside." Martin was so overcome with joy, that he fell on his knees in the room, and poured out

his heart in praise to GOD. The meeting was held in Edwardes' house. Robert Clark, who was the chief speaker, notes how the marks of the blood of the late Commissioner were still visible on the pillars of the door. One sentence from Edwardes' address should be remembered:—

“ I say clearly, I have no fear that the establishment of a Christian Mission in Peshawar will disturb the peace: we may be quite sure that we are much safer if we do our duty, than if we neglect it, and that He Who brought us here with His own right arm, will shield and bless us, if in simple reliance upon Him we try to do His will.”

The response of the small English community was extraordinary. Three thousand pounds were collected on the spot, and everything needed for the equipment of the Mission was also undertaken. Martin himself retired from military service, and became one of the first three missionaries. Robert Clark and Dr. Pfander, ~~were~~ the two others. Dr. Pfander started his work by preaching in the central bazaar of Peshawar, at the imminent risk of his life, and the other two joined him. Day by day he bore witness. Many times he was warned by leading Mohammedans that he would be killed, but his life was wonderfully preserved.



MISSION CHURCH, PESHAWAR.

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Peshawar to-day is still the most turbulent and fanatical town in India. Looting goes on from time to time, and officers are murdered, but for more than fifty years the missionaries' lives have been kept safe, and the opposition to the Name of CHRIST in the city itself has been partly broken down by patient, loving, medical and educational work.

One of the brightest and happiest memories I have in India is that of a visit to Peshawar. I went first to the beautiful church—one of the most beautiful and "Eastern" in India—where I saw the arrangements which had been made to avoid giving offence to Mohammedan converts and inquirers. Then Dr. Lankester took me to the hospital. This is built on the great high-road along which all caravans from the interior pass into the city. The sight in the courtyard of the hospital was one never to be forgotten—the crowd of patients and their friends with every type of dress and racial characteristic, varying from the white Central Asian to the dark Mongolian, from the fierce black-bearded Afghan to the quiet brown-bearded Kashmiri, from the pale sallow Persian to the dark sun-burnt Panjabi. Some were fanatical *mullahs*, now quiet and restrained;

others were wild border tribesmen, with sword-cuts received in tribal feuds, waiting to be healed in order to go back and fight again ; others were patient, simple village people, who had come with their whole family, on the backs of camels and mules, down the steep passes.

One was there, very different from the rest, a tall man, whose face had received the most ghastly sword cut wounds I have ever seen, and who followed Dr. Lankester about as he went his rounds. When I glanced at him from time to time, he pointed to his own face, and then to the doctor with a look of dumb gratitude that was more than touching. I asked afterwards about him, and found that he had come from a remote region called Kafiristan. The word means "Infidel Land," and, by some strange unrecorded history, the people in that mountainous district to the North-West of Kashmir, have never become Mohammedan, while every tribe around them has done so. They have remained to this day Kafirs or "Infidels." Some have thought that they represent an old, almost obliterated Christian community, sunk back into semi-heathenism. Now they are being forced to embrace Islam at the point of the sword. The

following was the poor man's story :—"When Amir Habibullah came to the throne, the great chiefs were ready for an insurrection, but the Amir in order to pacify them, allowed the mullahs to preach a jihad (religious war) against Kafiristan. They came sweeping down on us for plunder and massacre. I was cut down and lay unconscious, with a dead body covering me. When I woke I found that the whole village had been put to the sword, and the Afghans had gone forward. I crept out, weak as I was, and found my way across the mountains here, where the Doctor Sahib has saved my life."

I heard many other such stories during my visit, and went up the grim mountain passes looking out towards lands as yet unreached, and at present unreachable, except by means of these our hospitals. A line of medical Missions now stretches from Kotgur in the East, to Quetta in the West. I wish I had space to tell of Neve and his work in Srinagar, and Pennell in Bannu—two of the noblest living missionaries in India. These and others like them are doing each in his own way the same work that Lankester is doing at Peshawar—a work that is surely preparing a highway into Central Asia in the future. They

are men with a vision—the vision of Henry Martyn, and Heber, and French, and Maxwell Gordon. As one watches them one knows that the chivalry of Missions has not died away.

There is a report widely current this year that an Indian Christian has crossed the frontier, and openly preached the message of CHRIST in Afghanistan, and has been detained and imprisoned. Whether it be true to-day or no, there can be little doubt that in the near future, with the National Missionary Movement spreading in the North, and the higher ideal of missionary work gaining ground in the Indian Church, some Indian Christian will soon pierce through the barrier that no Englishman can pass, and young India will show the glorious heroism of faith. Afghanistan, from which so constantly in Indian history, fierce raids have been made down the passes to plunder and to kill, may in its turn be conquered through the same passes by the greatest of all conquests—the victory of the Gospel of Peace.

If this book meet the eye of any Indian Christian in the North, may it quicken in him the thought that Afghanistan will be Christian India's special and unique opportunity—a work of evangelization left for the sons of India to accomplish;



PADRE THOMAS EDWARDS.

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and may we offer up one longing prayer to GOD that the true nobility of self-sacrifice may be found burning brightly in the Indian Church when the time arrives for action !

I will* take one more scene from another of these Frontier Missions. Kotgur lies fifty miles north of Simla, on the road to Tibet, with the snow-peaks rising high beyond it. In early days it had been an outpost in the Gurkha wars, and there are still signs of cantonments, though now no armed garrison is needed, for the whole interior is peaceful. The Mission work was started by the generosity of a civilian, named Mr. Gorton, and an officer, Captain Jackson, and is an offshoot of the Simla Mission in which Padre Thomas Edwards carried on a devoted work for many years, respected alike by Indian and European. Last year I walked out from Simla with the Bishop of Lahore, who was to hold at Kotgur a Confirmation. On the way we passed the shrines of the different gods and goddesses. The hill folk are steeped in superstition, and very backward; each hill-top or corner is supposed to be inhabited by some demon: cries and shouts and beatings of gongs were heard from time to time betokening their worship: we

passed a great tree which was still famous as the scene of the last human sacrifice. Then suddenly beneath us we saw the little Christian church with its cross and wooden belfry, and heard the children's voices singing a Christian hymn. The peacefulness of the scene, and the sense of the sweet beauty of our Christian Faith in the midst of the gross heathenism all around, were beyond description.

The missionaries were an aged white-bearded German pastor and his wife, whose presence seemed in keeping with the rest of the picture. The next morning, Sunday, the village Christians were up early, and standing in the sunshine outside the church they greeted the Bishop as he drew near. The rain was past, and the air was the purest translucent blue. The service was very quiet. The old German pastor played the music very softly, and led the singing throughout. The candidates, all in white, came up one by one to receive the gift, the last being a young Sikh convert of noble parentage, who had given up all for CHRIST, in order to live with a young American Churchman the ascetic life. His face was shining with strong determination and bright energy as the Bishop shook hands with him after

the service and wished him GOD-speed. He was very humble and quiet, but full of earnestness, and devoted to his young American brother. Later in the year I met the two together in the plague-camp at Lahore, sleeping on the bare ground, and nursing, in turn, a little Rajput lad from the mountains, who was dying of confluent smallpox. In the summer the two go away together far into the interior, sometimes tending the lepers, sometimes passing on to the borders of Tibet. They go barefooted and bareheaded, wearing the ochre-coloured sadhu's dress, and they are received and listened to with reverence.

On our return journey we climbed up the hill-side to Bereri, where Mrs. Bates ("a succourer of many and of me also") has nursed back to health and strength many a tired missionary. From thence we ascended the highest peak in the district to gain a full view of the snows. Before we could reach the top the clouds had descended, and the distant view was blotted out. We stood there in the mist all alone, and were saying Mattins together. We had come to the verses in the *Te Deum*—"The noble army of martyrs praise Thee: the holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge

Thee"—when the mists suddenly separated, and, towering high above us, covered in eternal snow, the mountains of Tibet seemed almost to loom over us, a steep pathway of dazzling light leading from us to them across the clouds. "We paused involuntarily, and watched till the clouds rolled back once more, and then went on: "Thou art the King of Glory, O CHRIST." As we said the words the thoughts of both of us were in that far-off land which we had seen for the moment in its pure natural beauty, so impenetrable, a land where CHRIST'S glory has not yet shed its light; and we prayed with greater earnestness the missionary prayer of the Indian Church, that all people might feel after and find their heavenly FATHER, and His Spirit be outpoured upon all flesh.

CHAPTER X

THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW

TIMES are changing with great rapidity in North India, and our present missionary methods are coming under a fire of criticism which cannot but be purifying and enlightening, if we are humble enough to learn what is wrong.

Missionary work developed in the North when the power and prestige of the English was strongest, when Indians themselves, conscious of their own weakness, were startled by the strength of the West. To learn English, to read English literature, to follow English manners, was for a time the prevailing fashion, and the education that was given encouraged the fashion to the uttermost. At such a time it was very difficult for English missionaries to see the danger of a reaction ahead. Everything seemed working with them towards the spread of the Faith as they themselves understood it and had learnt it. Almost universally they went with the tide,

and made everything round them English in their turn. They built Gothic churches of a debased English pattern, they introduced all the Western accretions into the services of worship ; they gave the English Prayer Book, rubrics and all ; they established Mission work on English lines, and followed English models. There were of course, exceptional men, such as some of those whose lives have been sketched in earlier pages, who were original and un-English in their methods, men like Father O'Neill and French and Batemann. But the current was generally too strong, and the evil of Westernizing tendencies was in many cases active before the consequences were realized.

The groove, therefore, was cut, the system was made, and new efforts have nearly all gone to cut the groove deeper and perpetuate the system. Yet, both theoretically and practically, the system stands condemned.

Theoretically, the whole trend of modern educational thought is towards growth from within, rather than imposition of ideas from without. It would not be too much to say that the theory of education has been revolutionized in the last thirty years. The first study of the teacher now is the

pupil. This, translated into missionary language, would mean that the missionary (who is necessarily a teacher) must study the Indian point of view from the first, and get into the Indian atmosphere before he can teach. There is a vernacular of thought and habit and temper to be learnt, as well as a vernacular language.

Practically, the old Anglicizing system stands condemned by its results. Some of our converts have become so "English" that they refuse to go to Hindustani services: some, owing to temptations of worldly advancement, are willing to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, and pass off as Eurasians¹: many, on the other hand, of our best Indian Christians have been so repelled by the rapid denationalization which has taken place that they hold aloof from mission circles altogether, and lead an independent life of their own. Those who formerly went furthest in copying the missionary's English ways have gone in some cases to the extremest lengths of reaction. One of the ablest of our Indian Chris-

¹ By so doing they obtain a higher grade of pay. Though the Volunteer Companies in India are not open to any without English blood, there are many Indian Christians in the ranks.

tians gave me once his own experience. "Eight years ago I despised my own countrymen; my education and upbringing in the Mission made me do so. I was seriously thinking at one time of adding another name, such as 'Brown,' to my Indian name, and passing off as a Eurasian. Now I can hardly bear to look back upon that period without a deep sense of shame."

Looking from the Indian point of view, another factor needs to be taken into account. The missionary is not only a Western, but a Sahib. Let me dwell on this point, for it is not adequately realized in England what the position of an Englishman in India is, and what impression he makes upon the people. I shall not soon forget the strangeness of my first few days in Delhi—the policeman saluting, the people salaaming, the Indian soldier standing at attention, every one making way. I thought at first it was all directed towards my companion, who was well known in Delhi. But no! all was exactly the same when I was alone. It was due to the simple fact that I was a Sahib.

The Englishman is of the ruling race, and every Englishman is called "Sahib." He is given the front seat and the first place as a

matter of course. A thousand little privileges are his for the asking. The number of English is very small indeed. Each one, in most cities, is a marked man as he goes down the street, and very much like a small squire or noble in an English country town. To come from comparative insignificance and unimportance in England into such a position, is bad for most men; and Englishmen would have been more than human if they had not, in a large number of cases, succumbed to the temptation either of arrogance or of patronizing superiority. The latter is now more often the spirit which prevails; it is often kindly and well-meaning, but it is none the less galling to the modern critical Indian. He feels continually, whether rightly or wrongly, that the Sahib is looking down upon him as an inferior, and when he is sensitive he watches for every sign of a slight, and magnifies it into an insult. It is impossible to go into detail: I only wish to give the general Indian impression. It might not unfairly be summed up under four heads: the Sahib is (i) a foreigner, (ii) influential, (iii) overbearing, (iv) patronizing.

Into this class and rank of "Sahib" the missionary comes on his arrival. Outwardly, when

he lives outside the city in the English quarters, there is little difference between himself and the Government official. The air of the great British Raj clings about him, and even if he is not regarded as an actual official, he is a *Sahib* all the same, who can influence Government, and he receives the treatment of a *Sahib* from every Indian who meets him.

It will be seen at a glance that this is a position of extraordinary danger for one who is to represent the poverty and humility of CHRIST, to live the life of the Crucified, to imitate Him Who came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." Yet the position of a "*Sahib*" in the past has been almost forced upon the missionary. In earlier days the new spirit of independence had not come among Indians themselves: there was little or no national feeling: there was very much dependence and acquiescence in the Englishman's claims. The missionary, coming out to those whom he looked upon as heathen of a degraded type (for bad missionary theology has also much to answer for) assumed, almost without thinking, the air of a superiority which was so readily granted, and caught the prevailing Anglo-Indian tone. He used his influence with Government

to the full to obtain privileges and grants ; he became linked in a hundred ways with the ruling class ; he lived very often in the English quarters : and though he might have none of the over-bearing nature of the Sahib, and little of his patronizing spirit, still his position was open to fatal misunderstandings, and only exceptional men were able to make clear, in such surroundings, the Christian ideal. The missionaries who won the Indian heart, and were looked upon as saintly men, were those who broke free from Anglo-Indian influences and lived the Indian life, or those who lived in country districts among the country people where an Englishman was very rarely seen, and the Sahib spirit was little known.

It must be remembered in this connection that the Indian has his own very strong conceptions of the form of life a religious man ought to lead. His ideal is renunciation. It is true that the ideal has become lowered in modern, popular Hinduism. Crowds of so-called *sadhus*, or ascetics, who are supposed to have renounced the world, are mere professional beggars, who make a trade out of the religious idealism of the people. But in spite of numberless travesties, the ideal

still holds, and stories of genuine renunciation are by no means uncommon. That true religion means renunciation remains perhaps the strongest religious instinct both among educated and uneducated Indians of all creeds. The lives, already told, of such different men as Father Goreh and Dr. Imad ud Din and Pandit Kharak Singh will show the English reader how strong the instinct is. Here is an "Indian point of view" which must never be forgotten.

The following incident may now be understood and appreciated, and may bring home the picture of what Indians are really thinking. I was, in a city in North India, going out to pay a call in company with an Indian gentleman. As we walked along we talked about Christianity and its ideals. Just then a Sahib drove by in a trap, with a groom seated behind. The crowd scattered before him, and the policeman saluted in military style. "Look," said the Indian gentleman to me as he drew me aside, "there is your Christianity driving along! That Sahib is the missionary of this place, and that is his position, and that is how he goes to his work. Come with me a little further." We came at last to a Hindu ascetic who was seated on the bare ground with

a group of followers round him. "There," he said, "is our ideal. That is our religion. There are many frauds and beggars living that life, I know, but that is a true *sadhu*, and people would come miles to worship such a one. I will tell you a story which is true. There lives in this city a gentleman who has taken a high medical degree. Missionaries, such as the Sahib there who drove by in his carriage, would regard him as having no religion, and would call him a heathen; in one sense they would not be far wrong, as he is not a religious man; yet I know for a fact that, when the religious longing comes upon him, he goes out night after night and sits at the feet of that *sadhu*, to find some satisfaction for the inner craving of his Hindu nature. Are you going to satisfy the spiritual longings of the East by bustling activity, great buildings, riding about in carriages in European style, living like a Sahib, and presenting an ideal which we regard as unspiritual? Come and speak to us in our own religious language. Come and show us a vision of religion such as we can understand, and then we will hear you. But you will never win us so long as you remain Sahibs!"

It was easy, of course, to see the partial fallacy

in the implied contrast, and to point out that bustling activity might really be spiritual, and that good works were recognized in every religion. But even so the contrast made one wince and begin to think hard about East and West, and the need of a language for the Christian religion in India "understanding of the people."

Let me give an extract from a singularly kindly and sympathetic article in a leading Indian review, which points the same moral:— "Looked at from the philanthropic and social point of view, the missionary effort in India deserves great consideration. But the missionary is, after all, human. He is no exception to racial prejudices. He lives and dies an Englishman at heart, very little influenced by his Oriental surroundings. He loses in consequence many opportunities of realizing the Eastern mind. The Gospel of the Prophet of Nazareth that he brings is like Eastern nectar in a Western bowl—not quite palatable therefore to Oriental taste. . . . The Eastern ideal has been to dissociate wealth and power from religious perfection. The sage, or rishi, lives a life of poverty and spirituality. Poverty is considered the most suitable environment for spiritual growth. CHRIST's ideal was,

after all, the Eastern ideal—‘Ye cannot serve GOD and Mammon.’”

But I have not yet finished presenting the anomalies of this strange land and the difficulties in which the missionary is placed by his position. The Panjab is predominantly military in its English population. Five out of every six Englishmen are soldiers. The military ideas go still further than those of the civilian as to the status and dignity of a Sahib; and a very definite theory is held as to what is expected of every Englishman in India, and in what manner English position and prestige are to be maintained. The atmosphere of the Panjab on its English side is saturated with these ideas. Before I had been a month in India, I had heard them till I knew them by heart. They run somewhat as follows:—“Never, under any circumstances, give way to a ‘native,’ or let him regard himself as your superior. We only rule India in one way—by upholding our position. Though you are a missionary you must be an Englishman first, and never forget that you are a Sahib. You may do incalculable mischief if you lower the dignity of an Englishman, by allowing ‘natives’ to treat you familiarly or take liberties with you: they are the inferior race, and

we hold India by the sword. Be kindly by all means, but always be on your guard, and do not give away English prestige."

An atmosphere of such ideas, held by thousands of Christians who are daily representing by their conduct Christianity to Hindus, is an exceedingly difficult one for missionary work. For we must, as missionaries, reverse the whole position and counteract the false impression of Christianity given. We must continually "give way to the native" if we are to show any humility worthy of the Name of CHRIST; we must try and lose our "superiority," and become the servants of all, if we are to follow CHRIST; we must come to India with the one wish in our hearts, to break down all barriers of race, not to build them up. It may be realized, therefore, how very difficult the military atmosphere is for a missionary to breathe. For the missionary is very human, with warm English blood tingling in his veins; and the martial, conqueror's spirit, the pride of blood and race, the clannish feeling, are very hard to keep under due control, even when he comes out as a minister of peace and good will. It is true that the contradiction of ideas may be very slight in the North-West among the fighting

races ; but among the Hindus the contradiction is glaring, for their religious ideal is still deeply tinged with Buddhism, which inculcates a tenderness towards all sentient creatures.

I remember taking one of our Delhi students into Canterbury Cathedral ; when we came out, I asked him for his opinion of its beauty. He told me that one thing had so filled him with horror that all other thoughts were obliterated, and that was to see flags of war and bloodshed set up, almost as it were for worship, in the Temple of the Gospel of Peace. I was reading the Beatitudes with another older student, and when we had read the first three, he said to me, "These are the very opposite of what we see of Christianity in India ; the Englishman may 'inherit the ^{*}earth,' but he would never like to be called 'meek' !"

Added to this, with the sensitiveness of an intellectual nature, the Hindu resents intensely the assumption of superiority on the basis of material brute force, which the military atmosphere implies ; and claims that religion should be wholly separated from such assumptions. He declares that Hindu hearts can be conquered by a Buddha or by the patient, suffering, Oriental

CHRIST, but not by an Islam or a Western Christianity brandishing the sword.

One further picture is needed, and then it will be possible to speak of remedies. The criticism is continually heard that the Christian community in the North is denationalized and worldly. About the former accusation something already has been said, and it will come up again in the last chapter. In the North, especially in the United Provinces, there can be little question that the criticism is not unfounded. But the latter accusation, that of "worldliness," is one that calls for special notice. There is much that is wholly untrue in such an accusation. I could point at once to Christians, in every mission-station with which I am familiar, who are the soul of unworldliness, and they are not few in number. But there are two predisposing causes, which have operated most banefully in the past, and have created a worldly atmosphere extremely difficult for the growth and development of the higher Christian character.

First of all, there has been the expensive standard of the European. The habits of India are extremely simple, indeed one of the most beautiful traits about the people is their simplicity of

life. But when a family becomes Christian in the northern cities, this simplicity tends to disappear. It seems impossible to check the process, and there are certain compensations; but the eager pushing forward towards more material comforts and expensive English habits, brings with it an air of worldliness, and tends to deaden the ideal of renunciation and self-sacrifice. It may be that this is only a passing phase, but it is a painful one.

The second cause is still more serious, and could have been avoided, if the danger had been more clearly seen at the outset. The paid "agent" system within the Church has been carried to an excess, with the consequence that voluntary self-sacrifice has been checked. The temptation to pauperize in India is very great indeed, for a new convert is continually resourceless. Some post is found for him in "mission employment," and he becomes a paid "agent" of the Mission, though often spiritually unfit. The consequence has been a lowering of the standard of spiritual work. I shall not forget my astonishment on hearing, at the first Mission Council that I attended, such phrases as "Oh! So-and-so's a twenty rupee catechist," his character being marked, as it were,

by his monthly stipend. Wherever the blame lies, there can be little doubt that the monetary idea has crept in all through this side of our work, and spiritual power seems to have gone out in proportion. It was very noticeable how, in answer to a series of questions which I sent to leading missionaries of the Church in preparing this chapter, the trouble which was most constantly mentioned was the dearth of really spiritual catechists.

As a result of this lowering of the spiritual standard of our paid evangelists, the National Missionary Movement in the Indian Church has received but a cold welcome in many English mission-stations. In one city the paid "agents" of the Mission deliberately tried to strangle it at its birth. In another a kind of boycott was attempted. A missionary, who has been living the full life of renunciation among the people of the land, was received by these "agents" with a surprise almost amounting to disdain. The height of his sacrifice and devotion was unintelligible to them. They evidently disliked it. Perhaps the most noticeable fact is this, that in two mission-stations, where the whole congregation of Christians is made up of catechists, readers and teachers, who

are paid for doing evangelistic work, conversions have been practically *nil* for many years.

The spirit spreads from the catechists to the poorer Christians whom they teach. I received a letter recently from an unknown Indian Christian, which, amid a good deal of abuse, concluded as follows:—"Missionaries should pay greater attention to improve the position and prospects of *their own flock*. That is their chief duty. I entreat you never to appear as an advocate of Hindus. It will be suicidal to your (*sic*) own cause." Such a spirit as this has no missionary value. It is clear that the ideal of renunciation has to be built up within the Church as well as expressed to those without.

It would be quite unfair and ungenerous to mention this criticism of the Indian Christian community and the missionary workers, without referring to the far greater stumbling-block presented to thoughtful Hindus by Anglo-Indian "worldliness." Here again there is much that is wholly untrue in the general accusation. There are many Anglo-Indians who are a pattern of self-denial and good works; and in famine times there are no nobler helpers of the poor and destitute than the Anglo-Indians who are on the

spot. Very many have sacrificed life itself in ungrudging service. But side by side with this must be placed the follies and extravagances of the "Simla season," the constant balls, gymkhanas and race-meetings of the cold weather in the plains, the club-life with its round of gaiety and luxury. This, in a country so desperately poor as India, where millions upon millions are living on the verge of starvation, and a single meal of coarse grain each day is all that can be obtained,—this Anglo-Indian waste of wealth on personal comforts is an "offence" to the Christian religion that cannot easily be over-estimated. Indians ask with reason, "*Is this a religion of renunciation, such as we in the East can understand?*"

I have given above, as far as possible without exaggeration yet with candour, the Indian point of view of the English missionary and his work—its dangers and its blemishes. Further aspects will arise in the next chapter on "The National Movement," and the two chapters really form one whole picture of a change of thought and outlook, which is affecting every side of Indian life. To put the criticism into words which have been repeated to me in many places by thoughtful non-Christians:—"The missionary is too much of a Sahib, and

he tends to make his converts un-Indian. The Christians, both European and Indian, whom we see in India, are too worldly, too materializing in their tendencies. The standard set up, though we recognize its social and philanthropic value, does not accord with our own religious ideal."

It is obvious that there is an answer to this, and that the picture given is one-sided; but that will not solve the difficulties, if there is truth in the criticism itself. The way of progress is clearly to meet the criticism on its own ground, i.e., to take away the impression of the Sahib, to avoid the aspect of worldliness and materialism, and to express the Hindu religious ideal, where it is Christian, in a way "understanding of the people." Then, when the initial prejudice is removed, those sides of Indian Christian life to which the critic is at present blind—its inner home beauty, its love for the poor and outcast, its freedom, its inward joy and peace—will be understood and appreciated.

When the problem is raised in this form, the question clearly becomes primarily a personal one. How can the average English missionary career in India be guarded against the great dangers confronting it and prepared to meet them, and

how can an example be set both before our Indian congregations and the outer world, which will not be misunderstood?

It is an obvious rule that in studying a foreign language, such as German, there is no method so effective as to go away and live only where German is spoken and a German "atmosphere" is all round one, because in such a way German is learnt, not merely in hours of study, but in hours of leisure and recreation. One gets saturated, as it were, with German thought and idea and habit, and in this way attains that tone and manner and gesture of speech, which is as important as the words of the language. To apply this principle in India, it would mean that we must try and get far closer to our work than has been done in the past, and live in Indian surroundings rather than in Anglo-Indian. As those who desire to be one in heart and soul with the people of the land, we must not expect or even wish them to approximate to our standard of living, but must continually expect and wish ourselves to approximate to theirs. Only in this way can we avoid the double evil of "Anglicising" our people, and being looked upon ourselves as "Sahibs."

Difficulties at once suggest themselves when such a step is mentioned, and some of them seem almost insurmountable. To begin with a very serious one, our organization has been laid down, our bungalows built, our places of residence fixed for us; and all this was done at a time when the modern critical spirit did not exist in India, and the dangers of the missionary system which was being established were not contemplated. Can we now alter the system?

A married missionary told me his own experience. "I must confess," he said, "that my missionary life in India has been one long disappointment. I was placed here, and came into my surroundings: I did not make them; that is the only way in which I can justify to myself remaining in them. Outwardly, as I now live in my mission bungalow, with my wife and children and many servants, I appear far more well-to-do in the eyes of my congregation and 'above' them, than I did when I worked among the pit villagers in England. There seems always a great gulf fixed between us, a distance, an aloofness. Try as I will I cannot get them to look upon me as other than a 'Sahib.' Now that was not for a moment my intention when I left England.

I was then burning with missionary fire and enthusiasm, longing to make myself the friend and brother of my people. But this 'master and servant' relationship, that seems expected of me all day long, is chilling me, and while living in these quarters I do not seem to be getting any nearer to those among whom I work than when I came out. It would seem as though this must continue, as long as I live in the style I do. If it were not for my wife and children, I would alter at once my manner of life, and start to live like my people and among my people."

"If it were not for my wife and children"—there is another difficulty! I hasten to add that I believe the married missionary's life is needed in India. I do not wish at all to cut the Gordian knot by advocating universal celibacy. The problem cannot be solved in that way. It is rather, How can the married missionary with his family live closer to his work and among his people, as an equal, not as a superior? I would also hasten to add that the problem is not solved by transplanting colonies of Christians outside the city to live round the missionary's bungalow. That, again, is cutting the Gordian knot. It divorces the Indian Christians from the life of

the country, and is a most potent cause of de-nationalization, and very often of pauperization also.

I will take another kind of Mission with which I am thoroughly familiar—the Community Mission. It is true that in large Brotherhoods or Sisterhoods there are obvious advantages. There is continuity of work and the inspiration of a common life: there are fixed times for united worship and intercession. Just as the married life ought to have its expression in the mission-field, so, I believe, there is need for this witness also. But the danger of becoming a little English colony, living outside the real life of the people, is almost as great in this case as in that of married families. Extensive buildings are needed, and a multitude of servants; and Indians fight shy of a large company of Englishmen living in English fashion. My own experience at Delhi has taught me, that though we live in the city, we are painfully remote from the life of the people. Concerning another Brotherhood (one of the noblest in India), a missionary who has been in closest touch with the Indian people, wrote to me as follows: "The men are evidently saints, and it is a great privilege to be with them . . . but they

are not really in touch with the joys⁶ and sorrows of the people, and live too much among themselves. They live in an ideal world, but it is Western, not Eastern. The result is much the same that one finds at the ordinary mission-station—a remoteness and a lack of intimate knowledge. There is not enough coming to grips." The same criticism would probably apply to our Communities of women-workers. The exception would have to be made in the case of our Zenana Hospital doctors and nurses. Their work is unique, and their experience unique.

I have had long and intimate talks, and lived for more than a month with a missionary, who has himself, in his own case, untied the knot, and lives as an "Indian" among Indians. It has been an experience never to be forgotten. His intimate knowledge of the people, and their trust in him and devotion to him, have been an object-lesson and given me more food for thought than anything else I have seen in India. A spirit of sacrifice has sprung up both among Christians and among non-Christians wherever he has gone, and there has been an extraordinary response to the ideal. He is so little of a "Sahib" that he has been roughly handled by that great respecter of

persons, the Indian policeman. Hindus trust him as a brother, and ask him into their houses. It is all Christianity pure and simple, expressed in a language "understanding of the people." But, alas! here again the path is strewn with obstacles. Already he has had a very serious illness, and in the hot weather he is now obliged to itinerate in the hills. Could such a life be lived by one whose health was not robust? Could it be lived for a long series of years in the heat of the plains? Above all, could it be combined with educational and institutional work and become part and parcel of the routine of an organized mission-station? After all, the Gordian knot is scarcely untied even here—it is only loosened.

Difficulties will only resolve themselves by means of patient and watchful experiment, and a gradual reformation of our system in the light of the new conditions and the new criticism of our work. It is quite possible that a large number of bungalows, which are in English quarters, and away from the work itself, may be given up altogether, and that even married missionaries may find that living in the city under certain conditions is not so difficult as it appears. It is possible that a reduction, say of twenty per

cent, could be accomplished in the scale of missionary living and establishment, and more Indian ways and Indian food could be adopted without any real sacrifice of health. Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods might still find a common corporate life practical at stated intervals in the year, while going out two and two together to live in the very simplest fashion among the people during the remainder. Every effort might be made to get Indian Christians to join our missionary communities on equal terms with Europeans. Young missionaries, on first coming out to the country, might live, while learning the language, in Indian Christian homes, in Indian Christian ways, and so from the very first gain the vernacular of India both in speech and custom.

But even if all this were worked out in practice, there would still remain a vitally important place for the Franciscan ideal—for men and women who would give up every Western comfort, and live among the people the very life of the people themselves—for men and women who would willingly adopt the full life of holy poverty and renunciation, towards which the Hindu heart will respond with an affection almost amounting to

worship. For it cannot be too often stated that we are in a land of imagination, emotion, idealism—very beautiful, very extravagant even, but surely very dear to Him Who did not refuse the extravagance of a woman's devotion, and declared that Mary, not Martha, had chosen the better part.

I go back continually in my own thoughts to that picture of Father O'Neill and Padre Nehemiah Goreh living together in Indore—Indian and English one together in innermost heart and soul—"I cannot tell you how I loved him!" writes Goreh, and O'Neill writes in almost the same words—their mode of living, Indian through and through, and Christian through and through, "understanding of the people." It is true that the life of one of them was short, very short, but would any one say of it, "Wherefore was this waste?" Certainly no one who knew India!

I took the manuscript of this chapter for criticism to a leading Indian Christian whose opinion I value. As I went through the first part of what I had written, he demurred and interposed. "No," he said, "the earlier

missionaries were not to blame: *we ourselves* were to blame for any Westernizing that took place. We were so disorganized, so dependent: we were not awake even to our own great past. Changes had to be made, and, in a great many matters, revolutionary changes. Certain things from the West were bound to come in, and they have come to stay. The mistake, where there was a mistake, lay in this, that the delicacy of the process of adaptation was not realized; the danger of crushing budding instincts of independence was not understood; the dominance of the superior missionary in the congregation was too strong—he little realized how strong it was! There was therefore little assimilation by Indian Christians of the strong Western food, and much indigestion. But we were most to blame."

When I came to the "Sahib" position of the missionary—"Ah! there," he cried, "you are going deeper. Now you are getting to something fundamental. It is that position which conflicts with the Christianity of the Gospels. The mere Westernizing that has taken place is as nothing compared with that."

When I came to the English military atmosphere of the Panjab, he agreed that this was

most dangerous for the missionary, and in most direct conflict with Hindu religious ideals.

With regard to my suggestions as to missionaries living in the city, as far as possible in Indian manner, he was entirely in agreement, and enthusiastic about the effect of such a life if carried out with complete renunciation; he doubted, however, how far this would be compatible with the missionary system already established. "The first thing needed," he said, "is that the missionaries' houses should be so free to Indians that they can come in and out naturally, without any feeling of restraint, and that Indians may distinguish missionaries utterly and entirely from the Sahib. Indians will not criticize the extra expense of the European missionary's mode of life, if the barrier of restraint is broken down, and the 'Sahib' spirit is absent. It is the inner spirit that needs changing."

"But," he went on, "I am afraid you will think me political in what I am going to say, though I am viewing the matter now as a Christian problem. There appears to me to be one reason for the Anglicizing of the Indian Church, and its present weak and dependent character, which you have not mentioned. I grant you that much

can be done and many vital changes can be made under present conditions, and I can assure you that every effort that the missionaries put forth in order to come nearer to the people, will receive the warmest welcome from the people themselves. But we are speaking of the Indian Church, and this, as you know, includes the Bishops and the chaplains and the Government Establishment. The Church is one, and the clergy are one. A chaplain travelling at double first-class fare at the tax-payers' expense, and living in every way like a Sahib, with a Sahib's ideas of the 'inferior race,' remains a stumbling-block still to the logical Hindu mind, however much the anomaly may be explained away. The Hindu will say, and will persist in saying, 'There is one form of Christianity for the English, and another which the missionary teaches to the Indian.' Again, while the Indian Church itself is so Government-ridden (and the Government is a foreign Government of a conquering race), will not Indians always remain subordinates within the Body of CHRIST, wherein all should be equal? Will not the 'Indian point of view' be continually subordinated to Government interests? The pulse of a new life is beating in Indian hearts—

they are critical of these things as they never were before ; they feel subjection and inequality as they never did in the past. What will be the Church's answer to the new spirit ? The Anglo-Saxon Church, even in its early missionary days, led the English people into freedom, unity and self-dependence. Can the Indian Church, tied as she is to a foreign State Establishment, do the same in India ? ”

But the questions raised here lead me directly to my last chapter, “The National Movement.”

[NOTE—This chapter was written before the appearance of a remarkable article by Mr. Stokes in *The East and the West* (April, 1908), entitled “Interpreting CHRIST to India.” For a detailed and practical statement of the Franciscan ideal I would refer to that article. I need hardly add that my whole sympathy is with the writer and his mode of work, and I can imagine no more effective way in India of interpreting CHRIST.]

CHAPTER XI

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

THE new factor in the North of India, which will affect every side of missionary work, has been the growth of the spirit of nationality among the educated classes and its spread to the illiterate. This spirit is not merely Indian: it is one of those mysterious movements affecting different races and peoples. It has passed literally from one end of Asia to the other, and is found moving in similar directions in places as far distant as Pekin and Teheran. While taking colour from the religion of each country the movement is primarily racial, yet at the same time it is full of religious import and will have marked religious effect.

When a new phenomenon in science appears, such as the discovery of radium, every scientific worker puts to himself the question, "What does this mean to me in my particular subject?" There may be needed a readjustment or even a

reconstruction of ideas. In the great science of human life a new factor has arisen—the awakening of Asia. All the chancellories of Europe have begun to bestir themselves and ask, "What does this mean to us?" But there are also religious problems of vital moment involved. We need to have Christian statesmen on the alert, ready to ask, "What does this new factor mean to the missionary enterprise? How may the new movement in the East affect the kingdom of CHRIST? What new methods are needed now to extend that kingdom?" Our LORD Himself has told us that "the scribe instructed unto the kingdom brings forth out of his treasures things new and things old." What new treasures of the Faith can be brought forth to meet the new aspirations which are coming to the birth?

The awakening of the East in its effect upon politics, art, literature, and thought, may well be called a Renaissance. With very much of this Renaissance—with the longing for freedom and enlightenment, the love of country, the desire for a true and healthy national existence, the wish to elevate the countless myriads of the common people—no thoughtful Christian can fail to sympathize. As an Englishman he may feel at times that the day

of his power is on the wane, but as a Christian he cannot but rejoice and welcome into the brotherhood of man the new nations that are now being born. For in much of what is taking place he can see the seed of Christian ideas beginning to spring forth from the soil. Nationality, liberty, enlightenment, the raising of the multitudes—all these are not strange words in Christian ears, but words which rise from the great Evangel of Him Who came "to preach good tidings to the poor; to proclaim deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD." Christian education, the Christian Scriptures, literature saturated with Christian thought, these all have played their part in the past century, and are now beginning to bear fruit in India. Other causes it is true have been at work and are more in evidence at the moment, so that it is easy to take a superficial view and call the whole movement purely secular. Yet I cannot see how this can be maintained by any one who holds intelligently the Faith of the Incarnation, and who believes that JESUS is the Son of Man. Spiritual impulses moving over an area including 800,000,000 of the human

race cannot be without religious significance to the believer in Him Who is "the Light that lighteth every man coming into the world." It is indeed possible to overlook the Christian element and let it go by default, to miss the opportunity instead of buying it up; it is sadly possible for Christian nations to act in un-Christian ways, and set back the forward progress of humanity; but on the other hand if the Christian nations are faithful to high principles, and the Christian messengers make clear their message, then it may come to pass that, amid the shaking of the nations of the East, we shall see the Son of Man coming in His glory, and, before this generation pass away shall welcome "one of the days of the Son of Man."

To the missionary, face to face with the new situation in the cities of India, a whole series of questions arises. How far can the national movement be warmly welcomed, without trenching on spheres that are purely political? How far can Christianity be stripped of its foreign accretions and so appeal more strongly to indigenous sentiment? How far can the Christian missionary cease to be an Englishman in rank and status, in order to be at one with the people of the land?

How far can the new movement itself be boldly claimed for CHRIST? How far is the Church in India a National Church? These and a hundred other problems have to be met and faced, if the centres of modern thought and activity in India are to be reached and influenced.

One feature is apparent in educated India to-day. There is *life* where before was stagnation. The spiritual nature of Indian thinkers and writers is absorbed in the prospect of an awakening East, an Indian Nation, a free and enlightened People, a deliverance from the nightmare of superstition and the tyranny of caste. It is true that the problems and difficulties of the future have been little realized, but a great hope has been born. There is a day in the East never to be forgotten, the day of the coming of the monsoon rains after the long dusty drought. The dead parched ground seems to put on new verdure in a single night, and the new tender grass appears upon the barren soil. Even so it has been in the last few years in India. Before that time, a note of helplessness and despair ran through the thoughts and writings even of those who were the most persistent workers for the good of the country. But now educated India is

tingling with new life. The form taken may be at times extremely crude and even repellent, but it is life, life, life!

Young India is wakeful, alert, precocious; it turns to its national leaders as to a magnet, and is irresistibly attracted. The student class is poor, often terribly poor, but high-spirited and remarkably intelligent. The villages are sending ever-increasing numbers to the schools and colleges in the cities, and these come back to their homes filled with the new spirit. A typical instance would be that of a village student in one of our North Indian cities who told me his life history. He had been educated in a mission school, and had learnt good principles, but had received no deep impression. He was a clever lad and his ambition was to rise in the world. Then one day there came to him what might have been called in religious language his conversion. With overwhelming force he heard the call come to him to give up his life for his country. For months he could think of nothing else. Day and night the dream was before him. At last he determined to put himself to the test. Hindu though he was, he tried to fraternize with Mohammedans as fellow Indians, and, though meeting with continual re-

buffs, had persisted for more than two years, and succeeded in gaining their friendship. His father had insisted on his marrying at once and taking up Government service; but he had steadily refused, having determined to lead a celibate life in order to be free to work for his country. He had been banished from home in consequence, and reduced to great straits, but had kept to his resolution. My last communication with him revealed the fact that he had been spending the whole of his vacation administering famine relief to the lowest castes.

This is an example of the new earnestness that is spreading in the land. I have met with it in every city which I have visited. When it penetrates the great agricultural population of India, such an example will be multiplied in every district, for the villagers are by no means enervated or demoralized, as is frequently the case in the towns; they are, in most parts, a sturdy, thrifty, determined folk, quick in intelligence and mother wit, with a wonderful capacity for hardship and endurance. Those who come to our college from the villages of the Panjab are more actively stirred by the new spirit, and have greater tenacity in retaining their enthusiasm, than those who come

from the towns. The new movement is still in its infancy, yet from every educational centre comes the same tidings. It is the village students who are showing most markedly the effects of the awakening, and who are coming more and more under its influence. When it is remembered that India is a land of villages rather than of towns, and that the new movement will increase in volume just in proportion as the villages are affected, it will be understood what immense developments may yet be in store. The movement will go on: nothing now can stop it: momentum is being gathered at every stage. The problem before the Church is to determine wisely and boldly her own attitude under the new conditions. Neutrality is impossible, and a policy of drift is not only unworthy but also futile.

It will be well to examine the trend of the National Movement in the North to-day, before considering the present aspect of the Christian Church and the changes that may be needed. I shall deal only with the movement on its religious side. While doing so, the fact must not be forgotten that the great Mussulman community still holds aloof. At present the new Islam is busy

setting its own house in order, and ~~cares~~ only very slightly for Indian politics.

The most vigorous religious movement of Nationalism in the North-West is that which goes by the name of the Arya Samaj, or "Church of the Aryas." This Samaj aims at bringing back the old Vedic conditions, when idolatry did not exist, and life was built up on the basis of a religious education of an Aryan type. The Aryas are no dreamers. They can show practical results in the well-known Dayanand College at Lahore, and in the "Gurukul," or religious seminary at Hardwar, besides many other institutions for the training of boys and girls, the care of the sick, and the nurture of orphans. Their leaders are Indians of good family who have given up much for the cause, and there are spiritual men among them who are leading the ascetic life. The organization has followed closely the lines of Christian missionary work; and the Samaj has spread rapidly in the Panjab, both among the educated classes and also in the villages, where it has seriously threatened the power of the Brahmans. In some places it is bitterly hostile to Christianity, but in the end the Christian Faith need have little to fear from it and much to gain.

The more the Samaj proceeds on modern lines and meets with modern social and educational difficulties, the more nearly will it approach that Faith which has shaped those lines of progress and met those difficulties and overcome them. From a sincere and earnest reforming spirit, such as the best side of the Arya Samaj presents, Christian missionaries from the West may learn many valuable lessons in return for those that they themselves have given and can give. The Samaj is doing a service of great positive value in its protest against idolatry and other evil customs. The reply of our LORD to His disciples when they wished to forbid those who were struggling against evil but were not His followers, applies in this case, "Forbid them not."

In Bengal the Arya Samaj has not spread; but, side by side with much that is irreligious and purely materialistic, a remarkable revival in modern Hinduism has taken place—a revival which in many ways presents the nearest parallel to the part Neo-Platonism played in the fourth century. As preached by Swami Vivekananda, or Sister Nivedita, it refuses to cast away the Puranic legends of Hinduism and the idol worship. It attempts rather to allegorize them, and

fill them with a spiritual meaning. It brings the present national aspirations within their scope, and welcomes Nationalism itself as a new Avatar or incarnation of Krishna, sent to save the people.¹ The emotional side is prominent in the new Krishna cult. The passion of self-surrender is encouraged, and devotion to country is made equivalent to devotion to Krishna himself. On the intellectual side an altruistic philosophy has been built up out of Vedantism, which commands sincere respect, though it does not escape from the pitfalls of pantheistic thought. The chief scripture of this school is the Bhagavad Gita, or "Song Celestial," a section of India's greatest epic poem in which the Lord Krishna is dramatically represented as teaching Arjuna, before the battle, detachment from earthly things and supreme attachment to himself. In it occurs the famous prophecy, better known than any other verse of Hindu scripture, declaring that in each age, when

¹ The Krishna legend declares that, when things are going wrong, the god Vishnu incarnates himself in one of many forms to overcome the evil and save mankind. Krishna was one such supposed incarnation, and his re-appearance is expected. The god is born, according to the legend, under lowly conditions, and then suddenly reveals his power and is welcomed as deliverer.

wickedness comes to the full, the Lord Krishna will appear to save the righteous and slay the wicked.

From one point of view the power and glamour of the present Neo-Hindu revival, and the fascination which it has for many noble minds, is in itself a Nemesis upon false missionary efforts of a past generation. The excuse may be offered that Hinduism was cruder and less philosophic in earlier days, and that Christian apologetics were then not called upon to meet the higher Hindu position; but it cannot be denied that missionaries as a rule seriously undervalued Hindu philosophy and literature, and made little or no attempt to appreciate its most valuable lessons and to correlate them with the Christian Faith. What Harnack has pointed out, in his *Expansion of Christianity*, to have been the method of the Early Church when coming into contact with Hellenic culture, has not been even attempted, till quite recently, in India. That the work was extremely difficult, and the abuses of popular Hinduism were patent, does not excuse the Church in India for an unchristian lack of sympathy with what was good and noble. I have been studying, in connection with the writing of

this book, Indian missionary literature of the past, and few things have pained me more than the false and one-sided picture given of the Hindu religion.

The Neo-Hindu revival has therefore gained a strong position at the outset, and it is at present adding to its strength by its absorption, under religious forms, of the national ideal. The foreign aspect of Christianity at this point tells against it with the rising generation. "There is," says one of the Oxford Mission Brotherhood, "among the educated classes in Bengal a reaction away from Christianity altogether. Not many years ago exactly the contrary was the case, . . . It seemed as if there was likely to be a very considerable movement towards Christianity. Now all this has entirely changed. Keshab Chander Sen has ceased to be a hero to the Babu of Bengal, and the names you hear on their lips are such names as Ram Krishna and Swami Vivekananda, that is to say, men who take this position: 'we have in Hinduism all that your boasted Christianity can give us, and a great deal more.' . . . They spiritualize the monstrosities of Hindu mythology: . . . They are determined to find or to make a religion which shall be Oriental, Indian, and National.

Christianity now appears to them foreign, European and English. . . . There is yet another reason. There is the influence of the women. There behind the Pardah in the Zenanas are the wife and mother. The women are very religious. They are greatly attached to orthodox Hinduism —far more than the men; and thus at present all their religious feeling, all their reverence, all their devotion are thrown into the scale of Hinduism."

One of the most prominent figures in the Neo-Hindu revival is Sister Nivedita. Her Christian name is *Miss Margaret Noble*, and although to-day a passionate adherent and a devoted worker of the Ram Krishna Mission, her thoughts and writings continually run in Christian channels. It would not be too much to say that she borrows more from Christianity, especially from Mediæval Catholicism, than from Hinduism itself. Thus Krishna is referred to as the Indian Christ, the nature-worship of the mother-goddess in Bengal is made parallel to the devotion to the Madonna, acts of idolatry are "sacramental." In this way the grossness of idol-worship is obscured; and crude, animistic cults, unworthy of an enlightened people, are not only tolerated but encouraged. Mrs. Besant is engaged in a somewhat similar

task from the standpoint of a theosophy which she declares to be both Christian and Hindū ; but her appeal is rather to the old, conservative Hinduism, and her influence is not strong with the younger Hindu Nationalists. What is needed is a clear Christian Apologetic, suited to the East, sympathetic and discriminating, showing the fulfilment in the Incarnation of the longing for the Presence of GOD manifest in the flesh, which Hinduism represents but fails to satisfy.

It is of great significance to note that some of the most earnest and self-sacrificing leaders of young India have come very close at one time or other in their lives to our present missionary organizations. But they have found no home for their new aspirations in a Church order and system which appears to them foreign and de-nationalizing, and they have turned back in a bitter reaction to Hinduism. One of the noblest of these was Brahma Bhandab Upadhyā. He was baptized in a C.M.S. Mission, but there his ascetic Hindu ideal found no place. He then became a Roman Catholic, but there his passionate natural instincts gave him no rest. At last he reverted to Hinduism of the strictest ascetic and national type, and died a sadhu.

The spirit of self-renunciation is witnessed in much of the new religious fervour of young Bengal, and already remarkable results are being witnessed. Nafar Chandra Kundu, a young high-caste Bengali of the Ram Krishna Mission, after repeated acts of social service among the poor, at last sacrificed his own life in trying to rescue from a fetid sewer two Mohammedan coolies. At a recent religious festival more than two thousand young educated men of Calcutta were found ready to help the poorest pilgrims, labouring night and day among a crowd which numbered nearly a million, laying aside in their new-found enthusiasm prejudices of caste. That there is much that is reactionary and impossible to reconcile with progress and enlightenment, need not blind us to the fact that a new phase in Hindu thought and practice is beginning, which may carry with it important consequences. It presents a challenge to the Christian Faith which cannot be refused.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, in his book called *The New Spirit*, has given perhaps the most interesting outline of the possibilities for the Hindu development of the National movement. But up to the present I have not come across any public utterance so clearly representing the

circle of religious ideas in which thought is moving as the following passage from a speech which I quote at length :—

" There is a creed to-day in India which calls itself Nationalism. It is not a mere political programme, but a religion ; it is a creed in which all who follow it will have to live and suffer. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist to-day with a sort of intellectual conceit. To be a Nationalist in India means to be an instrument of GOD, and to live in that spirit. For the force that is awakening the nation is not of man : it is divine. We need not be a people who are politically strong ; we need not be a people sound in physique ; we need not be a people of highest intellectual standing ; but we must be a people who believe. In Bengal there came a flood of religious truth. Certain men were born whom the world would not recognize. One of them, the man who has done most to regenerate Bengal, could not read or write a single word.¹ But he had the divine faculty in him, the faculty of faith. GOD sent that man, and set him in the Temple of Dakshineshwar,

¹ He is referring to Ram Krishna, the founder of the Neo-Hindu revival.

in Calcutta; and from North and South, and East and West, men, who had studied all that Europe can teach, came to sit at the feet of the ascetic, and the work of raising India was begun —the birth of GOD in the nation was accomplished.

"Certain forces have appeared against the new religion. It always happens that when the Avatar appears, when GOD is going to be born in the people, such forces of opposition arise. The question then becomes a personal one. Are you who take your part in this divine movement able to endure? (Yes.) Do not say lightly 'Yes': it is a solemn thing. Suppose the question is put to you, 'Will you suffer?' how will you answer? Have you got a real faith that the movement is from GOD, or is it merely a political aspiration? Or is it merely a larger selfishness? Or is it merely that you wish to be free in order to oppress others, as you are being oppressed? Do you hold your political creed from a higher or a lower source? Is it really GOD that is born in you? Do you really believe? Have you realized that you are merely the instruments of GOD, and that your bodies are not your own? If you have realized all this,

then you are true Nationalists, able to save the spirit of India from lasting obscuration.

" You all know what Bengal used to be—a term of reproach, and a byword among nations. What has made Bengal so different to-day ? Bengal has learnt to believe. She now has her faith in GOD. Bengal was once drunk with the wine of European civilization. When this was so, Bengal became atheistic, a land of doubters and cynics. When I went to Bengal four years ago I found the prevailing mood was apathy and despair". People had expected that regeneration could only come from outside, from foreign sources, and when they found themselves sinking lower and lower they were in despair. But this state of despair was the best thing that could happen to us, for now, at last, with our intellectual pride broken, the heart of Bengal was open and ready to receive the voice of GOD. The whole nation rose.. She felt a mightier truth than any that earth can give, because now she trusted not in intellect, not in worldly resources, but in that faith in the divine mission of the nation which comes from GOD.

" One thing I would ask you to note about the men who are leading the movement. There are very few who have not been touched with the

touch of the sadhu (religious ascetic). If you asked what influenced Babu Bep'n Chandra Pal, it was a sadhu : the man who started this paper which is now being prosecuted, lived the life of a sadhu. The man who has given all to National education lives in secret the life of a sadhu. Only suffering and sacrifice can bring to birth the new religion. It is always necessary that the divinely-appointed strength should grow by suffering. Sri Krishna cannot grow to manhood unless the Asur forces of the world are about him, and work against him, and make him feel his strength. So it has been with us. The question was asked of Bengal in the first outbreak of triumphant hope, 'Can you suffer?' The young men, who had rushed forward in the frenzy of their new-found strength, had to learn its real nature—that it was not their own strength, but from GOD, and they themselves but instruments. We have learnt since then not to trust in material things. Swadeshi by itself may but lead to a little more material prosperity, which may mean a little more selfishness. Under the Roman Empire there was material prosperity and industrial development : but when the hour of trial came for those subject-nations who had developed

materially and industrially, they were found to be not alive—they were dead, and crumbled into dust.

"What then have we learnt during the last four years? Our elder men have had one overmastering idea, that there is a great power at work in India which is not their own. They do not know where he will guide them, but they are ready to follow. If the finger points to prison, to prison they will go—to suffering, suffering they will endure. They do not know how this will all help, and worldly-wise people will say 'you are wasting your strength.' But we know that our forces are not outside forces. There is only one divine force, and that force is within us: and for that force I am not necessary, you are not necessary. GOD is the worker and the work. He is immortal and invincible in the hearts of His people.

"You see, then, this movement which no obstacle can now stop. You see the birth of the Avatar in the nation. You see GOD being born again on the earth to save His people. Sri Krishna, who is now among the poor and despised of the earth, among the cow-herds of Brindaban, will declare the Godhead, and the whole nation will rise. He has a work for his great and ancient

nation, India. Therefore he has been born again to do it : therefore he is revealing himself in you—not that you may rise by human strength to trample under foot the weaker peoples, but because something must come out of you, which is to save your nation and the world. That which the ancient Rishis (seers) knew and revealed of old, is to be known again on earth and revealed in the Avatar ; and in order that Sri Krishna may reveal himself again, you must realize him in yourselves, and shape your own lives, and the life of this great nation, that they may be fit to reveal him."¹

Few thoughtful Christians can fail to find in such a speech as this an echo of what is most dear and precious to themselves, though the form appear most startling, and the idea of such an Avatar of Krishna most fantastic. The danger is that under the cover of such high-sounding phrases the old abuses may be left unreformed and unreformable, and faith built upon an unsubstantial basis may die away as enthusiasm grows cold. Krishna-worship in the past has been a fruitful source of evil legends and practices which inevitably lead to national degenera-

¹ See Appendix, *Modern Krishna Worship*.

tion. Can these be exorcised from the new Krishna-cult by mere allegorizing, when the appeal is made not to the refined and cultured, but to the ignorant and superstitious? A national movement in India, where age-long abuses encumber the ground, must be a puritan movement; otherwise there would seem little hope for progress on modern lines. A Reformation is needed in India as well as a Renaissance, a Luther as well as an Erasmus. Idolatry of the grossest type among the masses, and a hard caste-system of the most oppressive kind, are not toys to be trifled with and called by beautiful names; they are cankers which eat into the soul of the people like a fell disease.

With regard to the anti-foreign aspect of the new Hindu revival, and the lengths to which it may go against the Christian Faith, a scene occurred this year which would have been absolutely incredible a short time ago. On February 6th a large meeting was held to hear a lecture on *Bhakti* (devotion), at which nearly 3,000 were present, and Mr. Tilak took the chair. Dr. Garde, an elderly and highly-respected and learned Hindu, a friend of Mr. Tilak's, got up to speak, and traced the doctrine of *Bhakti* in Hinduism

from Vedic down to modern times. He mentioned, while doing so, the name of CHRIST as a great Western saint who practised *Bhakti*. The name of our Blessed LORD, even when thus mentioned, was received with such shouts and hisses that the speaker was obliged to sit down, and in spite of the chairman's efforts to keep order the meeting had to be closed. As I have said, this would have been quite incredible in India only a short time ago, and in a great part of India it would be impossible still. Yet it shows us what may be expected if the anti-foreign movement becomes anti-Christian.¹

When the present position of the Christian Church in India is considered in connection with the new movement, there is much to encourage

¹ In this brief summary of the Hindu religious movements which are shaping Indian national thought I have not referred to the Brahmo Samaj and other kindred societies such as the Prathana Samaj. This is a serious omission, as, though the numbers in these societies are small, they contain among them some of the choicest souls in all India, men who are doing the noblest constructive work. At the same time they do not enter so directly into the political sphere as the two larger movements within Hinduism which I have singled out for special mention. The Brahmos may best be described to English readers as the Unitarians of India.

while there is also much to sadden. On certain sides Christianity has already won signal triumphs, which must sooner or later affect the National Movement itself, and even now cannot be ignored by Indian Nationalists.

The most striking effect of Christianity upon Indian national life has undoubtedly been the uplifting of the pariah and aboriginal. When I was lecturing at Allahabad, a Hindu gentleman, one of the leading citizens, got up and said of his own accord : "I am a Brahman of the Brahmans, and belong, as you all know, to the most orthodox school ; but I am an Indian and love my country, and I must confess that the way in which Christianity has raised the pariahs of Madras is beyond all praise, and puts me to shame as a Hindu when I think of how little we ourselves have done." I have heard one of the most ardent Nationalists exclaim : "After all, when it comes to practice, Christianity alone is effecting what we Nationalists are crying out for, namely, the elevation of the masses."

A leading article in one of the most thoughtful and influential Hindu papers runs as follows—it is written by the editor himself, a Hindu :— "There is one question which concerns the well-

being of some fifty million Indians who belong to the depressed classes. It is becoming more and more apparent that they are dissatisfied with their present lot, and would welcome any agency which would help to improve their condition. Neither the Hindu religion, nor the caste system, has any place for what are called the Panchama classes. It is no exaggeration to say that the treatment accorded to them by the higher classes is scandalously unjust, and the conditions under which they are made to live are intolerably degrading. Their very neighbourhood is thought to bring pollution. It is no wonder that, circumstanced as they are, and utterly neglected by those who are regarded as their spiritual and social superiors, they should be eager to adopt any course which tends to help them to lead the life of men. One such course which has proved most successful is their conversion to Christianity and the abandonment of a religion to which they nominally belonged, but about which they know absolutely nothing, and which has refused to give to their life any cheer or culture. No one will deny that the change effects a marvellous reform in the life of these classes, and opens to them far more cheerful prospects.

than they could even dream of in their former condition. . . . The one broad truth is, that so long as the lower classes remain in the sphere of Hindu society there is no hope of material advancement for them, and when once they have left it they breathe a freer and fresher atmosphere which gives them hope of better prospects in life. . . . The fact remains that under the Hindu religion and system these classes have lived for centuries as degraded specimens of humanity unfit to attain the higher and nobler qualities of man. . . Who would deny that this advance in the life of these classes, whether it is or is not proof of the spiritual power of the Gospel of CHRIST, is an undoubted evidence of its elevating influence? It must be realized that the consolations of religion and the pleasures of life cannot for ever be the monopoly of a few privileged classes. Everybody knows how gladly and with what zeal Christian missionaries perform the work of evangelization, which is really a work of grand social reform. It does little credit to reformers among us that with this object-lesson before them they have not afforded to the lower classes, who form the backbone of our society, a fraction of the bright possibilities in life."

This aspect, therefore, of the Church in India is encouraging and full of hope for the future. In the long run, as the National Movement advances and ideals of social service advance at the same time, the witness of such a Church of the poor, a Church which can uplift the degraded and outcast and make them worthy citizens, will tell among the more thoughtful educated Indians. But this can hardly happen in the North for another thirty years. The chief effects of the present mass movements towards Christianity are in the distant South. The Christian congregations in the North are still very small and weak, and the Church itself is so intimately linked with the foreign Government, and has become itself so denationalized, as to repel the new spirit rather than to attract.

Indeed the lot of Indian Christians in the North is not an enviable one, and they need our warmest sympathy in their present difficulties. They are isolated from the thoughts and aspirations of the people round them, cut off by a great gulf from their old associations, and yet find the very smallest sympathy in general from English Christians. A favourite proverb used about them, and used even by themselves about their own

position, is this, that they are like the washerman's dog, who is neither allowed in the house nor at the washing place (*dhobi ka kutta na ghar ka, na ghat ka*). They are losing, therefore, to a large extent the inspiring and stimulating effects of the new spirit, and they are not at present a large enough body to create and develop a vigorous and varied life of their own. Still further, there has been unquestionably too great an amount of missionary pauperizing and missionary dominance in the past, and this has grievously kept back the whole community.

These conditions will alter, and changes are already taking place. The missionary dominance is less marked; greater powers of self-government and independence are being exercised; the Christian community is steadily increasing, and the power of higher education is telling. But while the future is hopeful, the present is critical. The witness borne to the outside non-Christian world by the Body of CHRIST is neither a strong nor a convincing one. The National Movement, therefore, in the North either passes the Church by entirely or else treats it as an enemy to be avoided.

The chief Christian influence in the North

which is holding the more thoughtful Indians and preventing Nationalism from becoming anti-Christian, is that of the missionary colleges. While the Church has remained outside the new movement, these have in a remarkable way held their place in the esteem and respect of the people. There is scarcely a single instance of the anti-foreign spirit affecting detrimentally our Christian colleges. They have, speaking generally, passed through the crisis of the last two years unscathed, and they are recognized as sympathetic with all that is best in the new spirit, and as being one of the best training-grounds of Indian character. I have taken some pains to gather facts as to recent Christian college development, and, as far as I can ascertain, in spite of a certain amount of strained feeling for a time, they are now stronger than before and their numbers greater. The only place where Christian education has been adversely affected is East Bengal; but even there, I understand, the opposition is beginning to decline.

The Christian colleges have in a wonderful way been assimilated by the people themselves and become in a sense indigenous. To take an example—in our own college at Delhi we have an

Indian Principal with three English Professors as his subordinates, we have two very able Mohammedans acting as honorary Professors, we have scholarships given by Brahmins, and an orthodox Hindu giving his services gratuitously as architect and superintendent of extensive new college buildings: The old students love the Christian colleges to which they belong, and work for them and subscribe to them, and the affection for them grows in wider and wider circles. The reverence for Christianity among the educated classes in India (in striking contrast to their repulsion ~~from~~ the present aspect of the Church) is due in a very great measure to Christian college influences. Without these, Christianity would scarcely be treated with tolerance in many parts, much less with respect and reverence. It is noticeable that the city in which, as has been related above, the name of our LORD was received with hisses, is one from which Christian educational work was withdrawn more than a generation ago, and which does not possess any large Christian school or college to-day.

There is, then, a good prospect that if we hold strongly the almost commanding position we have obtained in the Universities, we may still keep the

National Movement in touch, and even in sympathy with progressive Christian thought, until the witness of the Christian Church itself grows stronger, her foreign dress is shaken off, and her contribution to the life of the nation is recognized. But if we stand still in education we are courting defeat. The estrangement from the Church will grow deeper and deeper. The anti-Christian influences will gather to a head in the centres of thought, and these will turn the current of the National Movement itself in an anti-Christian direction. The Church will appear more and more the Church of the foreigner, and the sympathies of Indian Christians with the higher aspects of Nationalism will be retarded. No more fatal event could take place than that the Church, which aspires to be in the future the National Church of India, should drift further and further away from the present vigorous current of national life and development, and form a little backwater of her own.

Christian education is the link of connection between the Church and the new forces. We cannot afford to weaken it for a moment. To use a military metaphor, it will not do to win rapid successes on the flanks by means of the "mass

movements," and leave our front unprotected and-open to anti-Christian attacks. A country like India, where the Brahman or intellectual caste has maintained its sway for centuries, where the material side of life has always played so secondary a part, will to-day, in the era of new movement and awakening, be moved still by thought and by leaders of thought. We are not dealing with China or Japan, where the practical looms so large, but with India, the land of philosophies and idealisms. The new national thought as it arises must be held close to the Christian ideal, and this can only be done seriously, systematically and without useless controversy, in our colleges and schools.

Christianity, it is true, must be presented in living examples, and in a bodily form, with active working members. I have not the slightest wish to minimise the importance of this side of missionary endeavour. But India after all is the land of idealists. The lowest peasant, in spite of his terrible poverty and his hard material conditions, is an idealist at heart, and will ever remain one. While, therefore, the moving facts of Christianity need ever to be presented in action, and the witness of the Christian Body is of

supreme importance, it is the interpretation of these facts in the schools, in the colleges, in the Press, which will make their influence widely felt. The ideas based on these facts must be kept before the leaders of the thought of the country, and must win their acceptance or at least their acquiescence. We must keep our hold on the students, and they will still, even from within Hinduism, speak and think in Christian ways when they grow up. This speaking and thinking will influence countless numbers who never see a missionary's face.

The opinion here expressed is not my own. It is the opinion of every leading Indian Christian with whom I have come in contact. I have not found a single Indian Christian who would not view with dismay any weakening of our educational position. One who is on the Governing Body of the Panjab University, and Principal of his college, writes as follows :—“The work which our Christian colleges are doing for the future of Indian Christianity is of inestimable worth, and is the most important missionary work that is being done in India at the present time. Their work is like that of leaven, slowly but surely altering the thoughts and ideals of the country.

Leaven cannot be measured statistically. There is now a mighty movement of intellect going on in India. To weaken or withdraw at such a time would be suicidal. Education, here, as in the West, must ultimately dominate the life of the country. Missionary colleges should be carried on in the fullness of intellectual, moral, and spiritual efficiency, so as to set before youthful India the image of the Divine—even CHRIST. If this is not done, the ascendancy of CHRIST, which is dimly perceptible among the educated classes, will decline, and be overthrown by other influences. We need determination and faith, and the Christian leaven will leaven the mass yet. . . . Without this Christian education of the highest type, materialistic and secular influences or anti-Christian influences will practically determine the future. The spiritual and devotional will tend either to be excluded or to take retrograde channels. Even the best spiritual pantheistic thought, because of its impersonal character, will afford little or no guidance. The only moulding power I know is a *personal* power, and I believe that the Christian Church is able to place the figure of JESUS of Nazareth, Who was crucified dead and buried, and rose again the third day

from the dead, in such a way before the Indian peoples that, lost in wonder and adoration, they will be lifted up and strengthened. A motive power India needs—it is her supreme need. Earthly wisdom will afford her many, but there is no power that earth can give which can compare with the quickening vital energy that will come from the vision of the CHRIST—living from the dead, the personal Saviour of men, the King of the East and of the West, the very image of the unseen GOD, to see Whom is to be in contact with the unseen. The new life that will come to India from this vision, this contact with the unseen, is the only force needed to lead her to fulfil her destiny in the world."

Such words from a leading Indian Christian are an inspiration. They raise our hope, and uplift our ideal; yet the writer, with whom I have had long and intimate conversations, would desire to add with all possible emphasis, that Christianity, if it is ever to become the faith of the Indian nation, must be stripped completely bare of its present foreign accretions and excrescences, and be made indigenous; otherwise it will remain an exotic plant, unacclimatized and sickly, needing the continual prop and support of the West.

To this end there must be a change in our missionary theology. We need to have a deeper faith in GOD, and in His love for men. We must believe that GOD has not left Himself without a witness for thousands of years among the most religious people in the world. We must believe that holy men of old in India spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST, and we must no longer despise the HOLY GHOST by speaking slightingly of their message. We must believe that CHRIST is really the Light of the world, the Divine WORD who is the Life of men —that He Himself has been lightening every Indian coming into the world, and that the many millions of yearning human spirits in India have had His spiritual light to guide them, before any missionary came to teach them the full message of the Incarnation. We shall then find, if not an Old Testament, yet, a true *praeparatio evangelica* in the Vedas and Upanishads, in the poetry, and even in the legends of ancient India, as well as in the traditions of Muhammad, the utterances of the Sufi mystics, the sayings of Kabir, and the verses of the Granth. It is true that selection will be needed, and purification; but that is a different thing from the wholesale destruction or

wholesale neglect which is at present far too common.

There must also be a change in our missionary method. CHRIST'S words, "I came not to destroy but to fulfil," will need to be written on all our work in letters of gold. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable (*margin reverend*), whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any praise, if there be any virtue"—in Hinduism or Buddhism, or Islam (and there is very much indeed of each and every one of these things)—we need to "think on [*margin*, take account of] these things." We must no longer build up a wholly foreign system which turns Indian Christians into foreigners in their own country, so that this terrible sentence could be written by an impartial and kindly observer writing in a leading Indian review,—"An Indian Christian is, with honourable exceptions, thoroughly denationalized; at best he is but a spectator standing unconcerned on the shores of the stream of national life—though he is not all to blame for it."

If it be asked, How can this change of method be effected? the answer will be, By a change of

temper and spirit running through all the work. To become an Indian to the Indian to ~~win~~ the Indian, to decrease that the Indian may ~~in-~~crease,—these, after more than a hundred years of Indian Church life, must not be theories merely but an integral part of missionary principle. Men and women who come out to work must be trained and disciplined in this spirit, just as they are trained and disciplined in learning the vernacular.

In our own branch of the Church, which aspires to be called the National Church of India, but which, alas! if the truth be told, is at present in many ways the least national of all in the North, and the most bound up with elements that are foreign, the changes will have to be nothing less than radical, if the word "national" is not to be a mere mockery—a word scarcely to be used without an apology or a smile. The State Establishment will have to go; it is already an anachronism, and an offence; if chaplains remain, they must be only for the troops. The living, growing Church of the Indian people must no longer be at the mercy and dictation of a Secretary of State, seven thousand miles away, both for the appointment of its chief Bishops, and

the establishing of its Bishoprics. The English Book of Common Prayer, with all its sixteenth century Articles and Rubrics, must no longer be imposed upon the Indian Church—giving a wholly Western setting and type to Eastern minds in their deepest religious moments. The solemn words of the Apostle must be recalled to-day, in this new connection: “Now therefore why tempt ye GOD, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?”

Furthermore, for the Church’s very life’s sake, Indian Christians must be found, who may be consecrated as Bishops. The Church that has produced a Father Goreh, and a Satthianadan, a Krishna Mohan Banerji, and an Imad ud Din, a Sorabji, and a Manchala Ratnam, a Piari Mohan Rudra, and a Jani Ali—to mention only a few names from different parts of India—can surely never be regarded, after more than a hundred years of growth, as unable to “produce the man” even for a Suffragan or Coadjutor! Such an assertion is an insult that the Indian Christian community deeply resents.

Once again, a Synod, properly constituted, and truly representative of Indian Church life,

in which Indians have a clear and audible voice in their own affairs, must be substituted for a mere Synod of English Bishops in which Indians have no part even as assessors. In a country such as India—a country of spiritual instincts, intellectual powers, mystical insight, and religious genius, a country that has produced leaders in religion who have commanded the allegiance of half mankind—it ought to have been possible for the Christian Church to rise at least to as high a level of self-government and self-expression as the Church of West Africa. Yet there, both indigenous Bishops and a fully constituted Synod are accomplished facts; while in India we have neither the one nor the other.

One of the main conclusions which a study of Indian Church History during last century leaves in the mind is this, that the State predominance has hampered continually organic growth on the Indian side, and that the English Bishops have been almost powerless to resist its influence.

Ultimately, the present difficulties and perplexities of the Indian Church resolve themselves into the one great problem of the intermingling of races, within one Body. The principle of racial equality in CHRIST has to be fought out

once more, as it was fought out in S. Paul's own time." The struggle will be a severe one, and will need hard blows. But the victory is certain, and in winning this victory within her own ranks, and asserting in action this great Christian principle, the Church will be preparing herself to be at last the true nursing mother of the Indian nation. For that which Neo-Hinduism shows no signs of accomplishing, the Christian Church, coming victorious out of her own internal struggles, may at last achieve. She may first learn within herself, and then give to India, the spirit of unity. She may at last combine in one Body, not only the English and the Indian, but also the Hindu and Mussulman, the Brahman and the Pariah, the Buddhist and the Parsi. Then indeed a new Indian nation will arise, purified and united, uplifted and transformed by the Spirit of the living GOD revealed in JESUS CHRIST.

APPENDIX A

MODERN KRISHNA WORSHIP

WHILE in many respects the new Krishna cult resembles Neo-Platonism in its allegorizing methods and its philosophic basis, in other ways it is more closely parallel to the spread of the Mithras Legend in the late Roman Empire; for it offers to the multitude salvation, both temporal and spiritual, by the grace of the legendary Krishna, who is identified with the supreme GOD and worshipped with divine honours.

As the spread of the new Krishna cult and its close connection with Nationalism are little understood in England, and as there are distinct signs that this new form of Hinduism will be the most serious rival of Christianity in the near future, it will be of interest to English readers to read the following leading article taken from the chief Nationalist daily paper, which I abbreviate for want of space. Such political articles, cast in a religious setting, are almost of daily occurrence in Indian newspapers of this school.

"To-day every Hindu will celebrate the Birth-day of the Lord Krishna with becoming earnestness and devotion. He will observe the day as one peculiarly fit to feel the GOD within him. He will fast, he will make himself holy, he will go to places of acknowledged sanctity, he will hear his sacred books, he will worship the Lord Krishna, either in his own house or in a neighbouring temple, he will give alms to the poor, he will sing his holy name and pass the day in meditation, prayer, and serious thoughts. How meet it is then that we should realize the Lord Krishna in our national life, and feel that he is once more in our midst, inspiring, guiding, controlling and protecting! He is the perfect Being, and no Hindu feels the least hesitation in declaring that the Lord Krishna is GOD Himself. The Lord Krishna is the essence of our Hindu Philosophy, the peculiarity of our Hindu thoughts and sentiments, the be-all and end-all of our actions, the spirituality of our Indian life, the blossom of our Indian flower, the burden of our Indian song. He is our Nationality. The Lord Krishna, by taking on him flesh, has shown the immense possibilities of man. The Incarnation of the Lord Krishna has revealed to what height a man

can rise. On this sacred day of the Lord Krishna's Birth, let us pray for grace that he may stand by us in these days of repression, and give us firmness and strength.

"In all great movements there are seasons of life-development. There is first a season of secret growth when the world knows nothing of the momentous birth that Time has engendered, when Krishna is growing from infancy to youth among the poor and despised and weak ones of the earth. Then there comes the leaping forth of the great name to the light, the delight of the oppressed who wait for a Deliverer, the violence of the tyrant and his frantic attempts to slay the young Deity. But the new Idea, magnified by martyrdom, aggrandized by defeat, lifts its head higher and higher into the heavens, and the world is full of its indomitable presence. Then comes the life of Krishna at Dwarka, when the victorious Idea lives out its potent and unhindered existence, and works its will with a world that has become as clay in the hands of the Potter, and teaches what it has to teach, and then returns to the great Source of all energy from whence it came.

"In the season of ordeal and persecution only the children of grace, for whom the Gospel is

preached, are able to see the vision of its glory. The world admires and hates, but will not believe. It promulgates an ordinance that the firstborn of the Idea shall be sought out and put to the sword. As in the early days of the Christian Church, so always, zealous persecutors 'breathe out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the LORD' and 'make havoc of the Church, entering into every house, and, haling men and women, commit them to prison.' Even the nation itself to which the Gospel is preached, the rich men and high priests, receive its doctrine with contempt, because its enthusiasms are unintelligible to their worldly wisdom, its inspired teachings are a scandal to their narrow systems; they even accuse its apostles before the tribunal of alien rulers—a Pontius Pilate, a Felix, or a Festus—as 'pestilent fellows and movers of sedition throughout the nation.' But Nationalism is an Avatar, and cannot be slain. The powers of evil cannot destroy the Lord Krishna. Nationalism is a divinely-appointed *shakti* (power) of the Eternal, and must do its GOD-given work before it returns to the Universal Energy from whence it came."

APPENDIX B

LITERATURE DEALING WITH MISSION
WORK IN NORTH INDIA

INSTEAD of a Bibliography, I propose to give in this Appendix some suggestions which may be useful to those who wish to study the subject of this book in greater detail.

No better general view of Church mission work in North India can be obtained than that presented by Dr. Eugene Stock in the *History of the Church Missionary Society*. The "Indian" chapters in the three volumes should be read consecutively, and to them should be added the sections dealing with India in *Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.* For the history of special Missions four books stand out conspicuously :—*History of the Oxford Mission*, by Father Longridge; *History of the Dublin Mission*, by Dr. Eyre Chatterton; *History of the Panjab Missions* (C.M.S.), by the Rev. Robert Clark; and *History of the Cambridge Mission*, by Canon

B. K. Cunningham. For biographies, Father Gardner's *Life of Nehemiah Gorek* is by far the most important. It is the book that tells more about the inner history of the religious struggle that is going on, and the beauty of the Indian Christian character, than any I know. It is a great loss that the lives of other Indian Christians have not as yet been written in the same way and in the same spirit. Lives of English workers are numerous, but their importance is secondary, for they teach more about English character, with which we are familiar, than Indian character, of which we know so little. The *Life of Babu Ram Tanu Lahiri*, translated from the Bengali of Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri (published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta), will give vivid impressions of Indian character in contact with English civilization and Christian thought. It deals with one of the most interesting periods of Calcutta history.

For a general view of the races and castes of North India, Sir Herbert Risley's new book, *The People of India* (published by Thacker & Spink, Calcutta), is very important. The anthropological conclusions have been subjected to much criticism, but his chapters on "Caste and marriage," "Caste

and religion," are among the best contributions to a very difficult subject. The new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* will be found of great value as a book of reference, and the Census Report of 1901-2 is a store of most useful information. Mr. Yusuf Ali's book entitled *Life and Labours in India* is a very pleasing sketch of Indian manners and customs. Sister Nivedita's *Web of Indian Life* gives an interesting but somewhat highly-coloured picture of Hinduism in practice, especially from the woman's side.

For a study of Hinduism as a religion it is very difficult to name satisfactory books. One of the best popular views of the Hindu religious *system*, written by an orthodox Hindu, is to be found in *Hinduism, Ancient and Modern*, by Lala Baij Nath, of Allahabad. For Hindu religious philosophy I should recommend the *Vedānta-sāra*, translated and edited by Jacobs, in Trübner's Oriental Series. This is a short manual of the classical Vedantic system. Deussen's *Lectures on the Vedanta* gives the fundamental ideas of Vedantism in a form more intelligible to ordinary English readers. It must be remembered that the author's standpoint and views are hardly those of most European philosophers. A very interesting little book by

various writers, entitled *Aspects of the Vedanta*, contains some important chapters by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan. This last-named writer is very able, and anything that he writes is well worth reading. *The Writings of Swami Vivekananda* are most instructive as a picture of modern aggressive Hinduism ; they also give his own interpretation of the Vedantic system. Along with them, the *Bhagavadgita* should be carefully studied in some good translation with notes. There is a useful scholar's edition—a literal translation—translated with the commentary of Shankara, by Pandit A. Mahadeva Shastri ; a translation for English readers is, I believe, available in the Temple Classics. It needs to be understood more clearly that the *Vedanta* and the *Bhagavadgita* to-day form the central core of Hindu Scriptures among educated Hindus ; other sides of the vast Hindu system and literature are not studied in the same serious way, nor made the basis of a life-religion.

With regard to the various reforming Samajes, it is best to apply for literature to the centres of their organizations. P. C. Mozumdar's books are, perhaps, the best exposition of the views of the Brahmo Samaj. His *Lectures of Keshab Chander*

Sen and *The Oriental Christ* are both "well worth reading. Pamphlets would also be sent to any English inquirer by Lala Kashi Ram, Brahmo Mandir, Lahore, or by the Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

The best view of the Arya-Samaj teaching may be obtained from a study of the *Satyárh Prakásh*, by Swami Dayánanda Saraswati, which forms, as it were, the Scriptures of the movement. Pamphlets may be obtained from the D.A.V. College office, Lahore. For the Prarthana Samaj papers, inquiry should be made to K. Natarajan, Esq., Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay.

In studying Mohammedanism it is difficult to avoid controversial writings. Palmer's translation of the Quran, with notes, in the "Sacred Books of the East," is probably the best for English readers. A little book by Amir Ali Syed in the "Religions, Ancient and Modern" series, price 1s., entitled *Islam*, will give in shortest compass the Mohammedan point of view. He is, perhaps, the ablest Indian expounder of Islam in modern times. Lives of the Prophet by Sir Syed Ahmed, Sir W. Muir, and Professor Margoliouth, will give the history of the first beginnings of Islam from different standpoints. Interesting supplementary

books would be Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, Tisdall's *Sources of Islam*, and *Mohammedan Objections to Christianity* (S.P.C.K.), and Muir's *Apology of Al Kindy*.

With regard to the National Movement, the best method of study would probably be to take in *The Modern Review* (published at the *Modern Review* office, 210. 3. I., Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 12s. postal order for a year's subscription). This is a monthly review, dealing with the most pressing religious, social, and political questions. It is written chiefly by Indians themselves from an Indian standpoint, and does not merely echo English opinion. Its tone is often strongly critical of Government methods and administration, but that is to be looked for from independent thinkers during a time of upheaval. It should be understood that educated Indians read reviews and papers to-day more than books. If English students are to follow the new thought of the country they must read reviews that are edited by Indians. The *Indian Review* is another excellent monthly of a somewhat more conservative type (published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. 10s. per annum).

All Indian books referred to in the above list

can be obtained by writing to G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras, who are ready to act as agents and obtain for customers books that they do not themselves publish. Postal orders form the best medium of payment of small Indian accounts.

The present writer would gladly communicate with any English student who desired to enter more deeply into the subjects mentioned. Address : Cambridge Mission, Delhi, India.

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